SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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PREFACE

Social Process in Hawaii, for the first time in 20 years of publication is deviating in this issue from tradition by not working within the scope of a central theme. Instead, the editors have gathered informative articles on various aspects of sociological interest.

Dr. Douglas S. Yamamura, head of the sociology department of the University of Hawaii, and Janet H. Higa, senior in sociology, analyze for us data on the dating preferences of the University of Hawaii students. They have studied the rankings by respondents, of the desirable traits and qualities of ideal dates according to such factors as ethnic background, socio-economic background, and sex.

The results of the SAN (Scale of Attitudes to the Negro) test administered to Mainland and Hawaii university students are given by Mr. Richard A. Kalish, instructor of psychology, in his article, "A Comparison of Hawaiian and Mainland Student Attitudes Towards the Negro."

Hawaii's urban similarities to mainland U.S. cities are discussed by Dr. Bernhard Hormann, associate professor of sociology.

Through a study of the Hawaiian census tracts, David B. Carpenter presents a statistical report on social stratification in 1950. Dr. Carpenter was a visiting professor of sociology from Washington University, St. Louis, during the 1955-56 academic year.

Robert C. Schmitt, redevelopment research analyst of the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency gives us a picture of the statistical characteristics of out-migration of Hawaii's people.

A report of her sociological study of the campaign for the reopening of local Japanese language schools is made by Dr. Yukiko Kimura, researcher with Romanzo Adams Research Laboratory.

Miss Yvonne Tong's paper, written for an introductory sociology course, tells through specific incidents, about differences in household and family behavior of traditional Chinese and American families. Her experiences of becoming aware of her enthnocentrism help us to see our own ethnocentrism.

Dr. Douglas Yamamura presents a summary of his published report on the University's Orientation Center, where in the summers of 1954 and 1955 students from Asia were oriented for work at U.S. universities, and the attitudes of the Asian students towards it.

DATING PREFERENCES OF UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII STUDENTS

Douglas S. Yamamura and Janet H. Higa

As the American family has been subjected to research, we have become increasingly aware that the choice of a marriage partner is a key point at which satisfactory or unsatisfactory family relationships may begin. With the gradual relaxation of parental control and influence over courtship and marriage and from the increase in freedom whereby individuals make their own choices, there have developed needs for some method whereby American youths may (1) have the opportunity to have friendly associations with a number of persons of the opposite sex, (2) learn to be at ease with members of the opposite sex, and (3) gain experience and training for the selection of a life mate. At the present time this need is at least partially fulfilled by the dating system in America. Among young people today, dating is well established as a normal social procedure; yet most of them fail to realize that the practice is a relatively new phenomenon in American culture. Many fail to realize that prior to World War I, if a young man called on a young lady, it was taken for granted that he was "looking things over" with matrimony in mind; if he called two or three times, he was considered as good as engaged.[1]

Dating has been variously defined. Waller viewed dating as "a period of dalliance which intervenes between puberty and mating," in which each is pretending devotion but in reality is trying to deceive and exploit the other for prestige, favors, and physical thrills.[2] Burgess and Locke, on the other hand, define dating as a social practice in which the chief motive of both young people is merely good fellowship and fun during the particular occasion, with the tacit understanding that there is no obligation to further commitment on the part of the other.[3] Lowrie defines dating as the process of paired association between members of the opposite sex before marriage. He conceives of dating as an "almost unconscious development of the customs of courtship whereby young people obtain the training and experience needed for sensible selection of mates."[4] Basically, then, dating involves the paired association between members of the opposite sex before marriage and is characterized by a lack of commitment or public obligation for any sort of future action. Continuation of the relationship is largely a matter between the two concerned.

The present study is primarily concerned with the conceptions of an ideal date. The ideal date is the term used to indicate the image which the student constructs of the characteristics of the person he would like to date. This may be a composite of the romantic notions of a "dream date" and the actual experiences of the individuals with dates. This portrait may thus romantically depict the physical features and appearance of the imagined ideal date and delineate the desired mental, temperamental, moral and social characteristics. It was felt that the ideal date conception operates as a more or less conscious mechanism in the selection of dates. In this preliminary, exploratory effort, it was hypothesized that the patterns of ideals would vary by (1) ethnic background of the respondents; (2) the socio-economic background of the respondents as reflected by the occupation of parents; and (3) by sex.

The data for the present study were collected in the spring semester of the academic year 1955-56 by members of the research methods class (Sociology 282). A stratified, random sample of 370 unmarried students from the undergraduate body of the University of Hawaii were interviewed.[5] The students were asked to rate traits or qualities which they considered desirable in a date on a five point scale from most to least desirable. A list of twenty five traits and qualities was developed from a previous exploratory study of the area. The students were also asked to list the five most important and the five least important traits or qualities that they personally considered in selecting a dating partner.

TABLE 1
RANK ORDER OF TRAITS OR QUALITIES
CONSIDERED IN THE SELECTION OF DATING PARTNERS
BY UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII STUDENTS

Rank	Traits and Qualities
1	sincere
2	well-mannered, polite
3	good character (honest, dependable, has a high standard of morals)
4	good companion, conversationalist
5	knows how to get along with all kinds of people
6	good sense of humor, pleasant disposition
7	neat, well-groomed
8	have similar interests with mine
9	intelligent
10	understanding, sympathetic
11	knows how to behave properly in social situations
12	attractive
13	respected by others
14	acceptable to my parents
15	"open minded," can take jokes
16	belongs to my race
17	does not drink
18	belongs to my religion
19	religious
20	speaks like a cultured person, intellectual
21	good dancer
22	owns a car
23.5	popular, "rates" with the gang
23.5	knows how to have a good time, not stingy with his money
25	comes from a socially distinguished or substantially wealthy family.

[1] Cf., Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, The Family. New York: American Book Co., 1953, pp.331.

[2] Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," American Sociological Review, 2 (October, 1937), 727-734.

[3] Burgess and Locke, op. cit., pp. 331-334.

[4] Samuel H. Lowrie, "Dating Theories and Student Responses," American Sociological Review, 16 (June, 1951), 334-340.

[5] The students were statified according to ethnic background and a random sample was drawn from each of the strata.

Summary of Findings

Table 1 reports the rank order of the traits or qualities considered desirable in dating partners for the total sample group. The data indicate that the University of Hawaii undergraduates primarily emphasized selected personality traits. The characteristics most highly rated were (1) is sincere; (2) is well mannered and polite; (3) is a good companion and a good conversationalist; (4) knows how to get along with all kinds of people; (5) is of good character (honest, dependable, has a high standard of morals); and (6) has a good sense of humor, pleasant disposition. In general, then, the personality qualities that were rated most highly are those which make for a relaxed and satisfying human interaction and tend to confirm the notion that students generally conceive of dates as pleasant social events. However, since, dating and marriage both are forms of intimate interaction, the emphasis on characteristics that promote good human relations could also mean that these students seek in their premarital experiences the kinds of individuals with whom they could get along well both before and after marriage. It is also of some interest to note that the ratings of the University of Hawaii students do not markedly vary from the personal preferences expressed by students at the University of Michigan.[6]

In the mid-ranges of the ratings were such characteristics as (1) is acceptable to my parents; (2) belongs to my race; (3) belongs to my religion; (4) does not drink (alcholic beverages); and (5) is religious. On the other hand, traits at the bottom of the ranking scale were such items as (1) is a good dancer; (2) owns a car; (3) is popular, "rates" with the gang; (4) knows how to have a good time, not stingy with his money; (5) comes from a socially distinguished or substantially wealthy family. In general the characteristics listed in the mid-ranges and the bottom of the ranking scale tend to be those social characteristics which frequently enter into the kind of ranking or rating scheme which Waller described as based on extreme consciousness of social distinction and of individual position in a social hierarchy.[7] The ratings of character traits and qualities of the sample group indicate that they differ markedly from the competitive artificialty of the dating-rating complex as described by Waller in his study of selected groups of students.

An interest in the present study related to the similarities and differences in the ranking of the various traits and qualities of desirable dating partners by the various ethnic groups represented on the campus. All respondents in the study were asked to list the five most important qualities or traits that they personally considered in selecting a dating partner. Table 2 reports the percentage distribution of the responses by ethnic background. It was interesting to note that less than ten per cent of the sample listed similar ethnic and religious background as among the five most important traits or qualities considered in the selection of dating partners. On the other hand, nearly one-half of the sample mentioned such personality traits as sincerety, well mannered, and good character as prime considerations.

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[6] Cf., Robert O. Blood, "Uniformities and Diversities in Campus Dating Preferences," Marriage and Family Living, 18 (February, 1956), 37-45. The sample of students at the University of Michigan listed the following as desirable characteristics: (1) Is pleasant and cheerful; (2) Has a sense of humor; (3) Is a good sport; (4) Is natural; (5) Is considerate; and (6) Is neat in appearance.

[7] Waller, op. cit., p. 728.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FIVE MOST IMPORTANT QUALITIES OR TRAITS UTILIZED BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE SELECTION OF DATING PARTNERS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

Total Rank	Traits or Qualities	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Total
1.	Is sincere	52.5	57.3	54.9	34.0	53.6	49.4
2.	Is well-mannered, polite	51.3	38.2	42.6	44.0	56.6	47.3
3.	Is of good character (honest, dependable, high moral standards)	31.3	36.5	53.0	60.9	54.7	47.0
4.	Is a good companion, conversationalist	56.3	35.0	53.7	44.0	51.3	46.7
5.	Knows how to get along with all kinds of people	37.5	35.0	36.9	34.0	44.5	38.1
6.	Has a good sense of humor, pleasant disposition	35.3	39.8	44.8	22.0	29.6	35.4
7.	Is neat, well-groomed	42.5	38.2	23.5	30.0	26.2	31.6
8.	Has similar interests with mine	27.5	30.2	28.1	30.0	30.8	29.2
9.	Is intelligent	32.5	33.4	29.1	26.0	23.9	29.2
10.	Is understanding, sympathetic	21.3	11.1	23.5	30.0	29.6	23.2
11.	Knows how to behave properly in social situations	28.8	17.5	19.0	28.0	20.5	22.4
12.	Is attractive	18.8	31.8	23.5	24.0	13.7	21.6
13.	Is respected by others	23.8	14.3	22.4	20.0	21.6	19.2
14.	Is acceptable to my parents	12.5	12.7	13.4	14.0	12.5	13.0
15.	Is "open-minded," can take jokes	10.0	8.0	2.0	12.0	8.0	9.7
16.	Is of my race	5.0	14.3	6.7	6.0	10.3	8.4
17.	Does not drink	6.3	9.5	2.2	8.0	4.5	6.2
18.	Is of my religion	1.3	8.0	8.9	10.0	2.3	5.7
19.5.	Is religious	3.8	8.0	2.2	8.0	1.1	4.1
19.5.	Speaks like a cultured person, intellectual	3.8	9.5	4.5	2.0	1.1	4.1
21.	Is a good dancer	2.5	4.7	0.0	4.0	2.3	2.4
22.	Owns a car	2.5	0.0	2.2	2.0	1.1	1.6
23.5.	Is popular, "rates" with the gang	1.3	0.0	1.1	2.0	1.1	1.1
23.5.	Knows how to have a good time, not stingy with his money	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.1
25.	Comes from a socially distinguished or substantially wealthy family	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	.3

On the basis of percentage distribution of responses (Table 2) the traits and qualities of desirable dates were ranked for each ethnic group and a rank order correlation calculated. Table 3 reports the intercorrelation of ranks assigned by the various ethnic groups to the twenty-five traits or qualities. The correlations ranged from .87 to .95 indicating a very close correspondence between all groups in the ranking of traits or qualities that were considered desirable in dating partners. We would have to conclude, on the basis of the data, that there were no significant differences between the various ethnic groups in the ranking of qualities or traits considered desirable in dating partners among University of Hawaii students.

TABLE 3
INTERCORRELATION AMONG THE RANKINGS OF TRAITS OR QUALITIES OF THE VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnic Background	Ethnic Background				
	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Hawaiian		.93	.92	.92	.93
Caucasian	.93		.91	.87	.87
Chinese	.92	.91		.93	.94
Filipino	.92	.87	.93		.95
Japanese	.93	.87	.94	.95	

At the outset of the study, it was felt that the social background of the family from which individuals came would significantly affect the valuational patterns as reflected by the ratings of traits and qualities considered most desirable in the selection of dating partners. For the purposes of the study, the students were very crudely classified in terms of the occupational position of parents into three classes. Class I included the U.S. Census Bureau categories of professionals, managers, officials, and proprietors; Class II included craftsmen and foremen; and Class III included the clerical and sales workers, private household workers, service workers, and laborers. Of the 370 students in the sample, 38.5 per cent fell into Class I, 21.1 per cent in Class II, and 40.4 per cent in Class III. Table 4 reports the intercorrelations of ranks assigned by students whose parents occupied the various occupational positions. There was a very close correspondence between all groups in the ranking of traits and qualities that were considered desirable in dating partners with the rank order correlations ranging from .93 to .98. In terms of the occupational background of parents, the data indicates that there were no significant differences in the valuation of traits and qualities that were considered desirable in dating partners.

TABLE 4
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE RANKINGS OF QUALITIES AND TRAITS BY OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PARENTS

Occupational Class	Occupational Class		
	Class I	Class II	Class III
Class I		.94	.98
Class II	.94		.93
Class III	.98	.93	

It was further felt that the sex of the respondents would reflect differential ranking of the variables considered important in an ideal dating partner. In terms of the five most important traits or qualities which students were asked to list, the ranking of the twenty-five traits were tabulated by sex and a rank order correlation computed. The correlation of ranks assigned by the males and females in the sample was .92 indicating no significant difference.

Finally, the objective dating patterns of university students were presumed to be related to the valuation of traits and qualities considered desirable in dating partners. All students in the sample were asked to describe individuals they had dated during the previous semester. Table 5 presents the percentage distribution of the individual patterns of dating by ethnic background, by parental occupational level, and by sex of the respondents. The defined patterns were categorized as (1) in-group dating; (2) mixed-group or cross-ethnic dating; and (3) no date. Approximately one-half (48.6 per cent) reported cross-ethnic dates, while 37.3 per cent reported in-group dates only and 14.1 per cent reported no dates in the previous semester. Internally, approximately one-sixth of the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino students reported no dates as contrasted to 12.5 per cent of the Hawaiian and only 7.9 per cent of the Caucasian students who reported no dates. The Japanese students reported the highest proportion of individuals (63.6 per cent) who had in-group dates only; the Caucasian and Chinese students held intermediate positions with in-date proportions of 42.9 per cent and 38.2 per cent respectively. The Hawaiian and the Filipino in-date proportions were 17.5 per cent and 14.0 per cent respectively. Conversely, the highest proportion (70 per cent) of cross-ethnic dating was reported by the Hawaiian students followed rather closely by a cross-ethnic dating proportion of 66.0 per cent for the Filipino group. The Caucasian, Chinese, and Japanese cross-ethnic dating proportions were 49.2 per cent, 47.2 per cent, and 20.5 per cent respectively. When the respondents were classified by occupational background of father, approximately two-fifths were classifiable as in-group daters, slightly less than one-half dated across ethnic lines, and roughly one-eighth were non-daters. Exactly the same proportion of males and females were classifiable as in-group daters, slightly greater proportions of the females were classifiable as cross-ethnic daters, and slightly more of the males were non-daters.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DATING PATTERNS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND, OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND AND SEX OF RESPONDENTS

Dating Patterns	Ethnic Background					Occupational Background			Sex		Total
	Haw.	Cau.	Ch.	Fil.	Jap.	Class I	Class II	Class III	M	F	
In-Group Daters	17.5	42.9	38.2	14.0	63.6	35.7	40.6	35.6	37.3	37.3	37.3
Mixed-Group Daters	70.0	49.2	47.2	66.0	20.5	54.0	44.9	51.5	47.5	50.7	48.6
Non-Daters	12.5	7.9	14.6	20.0	15.9	10.3	14.5	12.9	15.2	13.0	14.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The rank order of the twenty-five qualities and traits of desirable dates were tabulated by dating patterns of the sample and rank order correlation coefficients computed. Table 6 presents the intercorrelation of ranks by dating patterns. There was a very close correspondence between all groups in the ranking of traits and qualities that were considered desirable in dating partners with the rank-order correlations ranging from .93 to .97. In terms of the objective dating patterns of the respondents, the data indicate that there were no significant differences in the valuation of traits and qualities that were considered desirable in dating partners.

TABLE 6
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE RANKING OF QUALITIES AND TRAITS BY DATING PATTERNS

Dating Pattern	Dating Patterns		
	In-Group	Cross-Ethnic	Non-Dater
In-Group		.97	.93
Cross-Ethnic	.97		.94
Non-Dater	.93	.94	

In terms of the previous tabulation of rank orders of traits and qualities of desirable dating partners, Table 7 reports the specific items which were ranked among the five most important by ethnic background, occupational background, sex, and dating patterns of the respondents. There was complete agreement in the items ranked first and second regardless of whether ethnic background, sex, occupation, or dating pattern was used as the classifying variable. Of all the qualities and traits listed by various groups as being among the five most important in the selection of a dating partner, none were ranked lower than 10th in order of importance by groups that did not include a trait in the top five ranks. For example, though being a good companion and a good conversationalist was not among the top five ranks for the Caucasian group, this was ranked sixth in importance by them. Being of good character was not listed among the top five qualities by the Hawaiians, but this trait was ranked 8th in order of importance by the group. There was highest agreement on the ranking by the various occupational groups. The Class II occupational group listed the ability to get along with all kinds of people within the first five most important traits, while Group I and II placed this trait in 6th position. The latter groups placed pleasant disposition and a good sense of humor among the top five qualities, while Class II individuals rated this characteristic in 9th position. There was also fundamental agreement between the sexes. The female respondents placed good character and the ability to get along with all kinds of people within the first five ranks while the males placed both traits in 7th position in order of importance.[8] The male respondents, on the other hand, placed emphasis on pleasant disposition and on well-groomed appearance within the top five most important traits, while the females rated

[8] Actually three traits and characteristics were assigned the 7th position because an equal number of individuals listed this trait. The third characteristic occupying the 7th position was "Is attractive" for the male respondents in the sample.

TABLE 7
FIVE MOST IMPORTANT TRAITS OR QUALITIES OF PROSPECTIVE DATING PARTNER BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND, BY OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PARENTS, BY SEX AND BY DATING PATTERNS

Traits or Qualities	Ethnic Background					Occup. Bkg.			Sex		Dating Pattern		
	H.	C.	Ch.	F	J	I	II	III	M	F	In-Group	Cross	Non-Daters
Is Sincere	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Is well-mannered, polite	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Good companion, good conversationalist	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Good character (honest, dependable, high moral standards)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-
Knows how to get along with all kinds of people	x	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	x
Good sense of humor, pleasant disposition	-	x	x	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	-	x[1]
Neat, well groomed	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Has similar interests as mine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x[1]

[1] Values were given equivalent ranks of 5.5.

TABLE 8
FIVE LEAST IMPORTANT TRAITS OR QUALITIES OF PROSPECTIVE DATING PARTNERS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND, BY OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PARENTS, BY SEX AND BY DATING PATTERNS OF RESPONDENTS

Traits or Qualities	Ethnic Background					Occup. Bkg.			Sex		Dating Patterns		
	H	C	Ch.	F	J	I	II	III	M	F	In-Group	Cross	Non-Daters
Owns a car	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Comes from a socially distinguished or wealthy family	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Belongs to my religion	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Is Religious	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x
Is a good dancer	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x
Belongs to my race	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	-
Popular, "rates" with the gang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x

these traits 9th and 6th respectively in order of importance. Apparently, the female respondents tended to emphasize good character, dependableness, and high moral standards as an ideal while the males tended to stress the importance of appearance in their selection of dates.

All respondents in the study were also asked to list the five least important qualities or traits that they personally considered in dating. Table 8 reports the five least important qualities by ethnic background, occupational background, sex, and dating patterns of the respondents. Although there were some minor variations, the data tended to support the rankings previously reported. There was nearly unanimous agreement in assigning least importance to the following traits and qualities of desirable dating partners: (1) comes from a socially distinguished or substantially wealthy family; (2) owns a car; (3) is religious; (4) is a good dancer. All groups but the Filipino students listed "belongs to my religion" as one of the five least important qualities in a desirable date. More than two-thirds (68 per cent) of the Filipino students failed to mention this social trait as one of the five least important in their selection of a desirable dating partner, though this was rated 8th in rank in the least desired traits or qualities. Being a good dancer was rated among the five least important qualities or traits by all but the Caucasian group. However, the Caucasian students ranked this quality 8th in rank in the least desired qualities or traits. Only 4.7 per cent of the Caucasians listed this trait as one of the five most important traits considered while 31.7 per cent considered this one of the five least important qualities they considered in the selection of a date. "Belongs to my race" was listed as one of the five least important qualities by all but the Chinese and Japanese groups. However, the Chinese ranked this 6th and the Japanese 9th in order of least important traits or qualities. Only 2.2 per cent of the Chinese and 1.1 per cent of the Japanese students in the sample listed this characteristic as one of the five most important traits they considered while 30.3 per cent of the Chinese and 22.7 per cent of the Japanese students considered this one of the five least important traits they considered in the selection of a date. In terms of sex, there was complete agreement in four of the least important characteristics of desirable dating partners. The males listed "belongs to my race" as one of the five least important qualities, while the females listed "is a good dancer" as one of the five least important traits. The females however, ranked "belongs to my race" as 6th in order of least important traits, while the males ranked the trait of being a good dancer 6th in order of least importance. Only 7.0 per cent of the males and 9.7 per cent of the females in the sample listed "belongs to my race" as one of the five most important traits in the selection of desirable dating partners, while 73.5 per cent of the males and 68.1 per cent of the females agreed that this trait was among the five least important considered in the selection of dating partners. There was high agreement in the five least important traits and qualities in terms of the specific dating patterns of the respondents. The non-daters failed to mention "belongs to my religion" and "belongs to my race" among the five least important traits or qualities. However, they ranked both traits 6.5 in order of least importance. Those who were engaged in cross-ethnic dating listed "belongs to my race" among the five least important traits. On the other hand, the in-group daters placed this characteristic 11th in order of least importance.

Conclusions. The findings of the present inquiry are extremely tentative. Although the findings are representative of the position taken by students at the University of Hawaii with reference to criteria utilized in the selection of dating partners, it was also recognized that these students represented a highly selected segment of the unmarried youth of the Territory. On the basis of the evidence presented, the following tentative conclusions may be drawn concerning the dating preferences of the sample population studied:

1. In the selection of desirable dating partners, personality characteristics that make for easy-going, informal interaction of a type basic to good human relations in face-to-face contact situations were consistently the most highly valued traits. On the other hand, social characteristics that reflect a materialistic emphasis or those that frequently entered into the competitive ranking and rating scheme which Waller described as based on extreme consciousness of social distinctions and of individual position on a social hierarchy[9] were consistently rated at the bottom of the ranking of values.

2. The patterns of cross-ethnic relations in Hawaii, traditionally based on a minimum of social disapproval of the free intermingling of the various ethnic groups, have led to the gradual miscegenation and social integration of the diverse elements of the Hawaiian population. An indicator of this social integration on an abstract level was found in the similarity of the values attached to dating. There were no distinguishable differences between the various ethnic groups in the ratings attached to various traits and characteristics of desirable dates. All groups uniformly placed ethnic background considerations on the bottom half of the ranking with relatively a small minority of students considering this an important trait in the selection of dates. The overt dating habits of the students indicate a considerable movement toward the more intimate cross-ethnic associations. Data on the dating practices of the students on the campus indicated that (1) approximately one half of the students dated across ethnic lines in contrast to slightly over one-third of the students who confined their dating within their own ethnic groups and (2) there was a disposition on the part of the numerically larger groups toward more frequent in-group dates than the smaller groups.

3. The patterns of valuation of traits and characteristics utilized in the selection of dating partners did not vary significantly by occupational groups, sex, or by the dating patterns. Crude comparisons of the responses obtained in this study with studies carried out on similar populations of college students in the United States also indicated no significant differences in patterns of evaluation.[10] The college students in Hawaii, coming from rather diverse social backgrounds, tend to exhibit a uniform pattern of evaluation of traits and characteristics involved in the selection of dating partners. Further, in this respect, they tend to conform to the norms of the American college student.

4. The student responses indicate an implicit conception of the students of dating as a friendly and non-explotive relationship between men and women students. The uniformities in the present study emphasize traits and characteristics that are conducive to smooth interpersonal relationships which apply equally as well to marriage as to dating. If this inference is correct, one may forecast the stabilization of marriages of college students about a norm of equalitarian companionship.

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9 Cf., Waller, op. cit., pp. 727-734.

10 Cf., Blood, op. cit., pp. 37-45. Also Samuel H. Lowrie, op. cit., pp. 335-340. Also Burgess and Locke, op. cit., pp. 331-340.

A COMPARISON OF HAWAIIAN AND MAINLAND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NEGRO

Richard A. Kalish

INTRODUCTION:

Newcomers to Hawaii are known to marvel at the local climate, beaches, foliage, and shops. They also find themselves surprised to find no apparent signs of racial prejudice, segregation, or discrimination. Long-time residents of the Islands tend to take the scenic wonders for granted and to accept the racial attitudes as the ultimate in non-prejudicial living. However, people with more awareness recognize that Hawaii, whatever its scenic and tourist attractions, falls far short of being non-prejudiced.

Because of the great pride taken by Hawaii's residents when speaking of their home and because of the grotesque stories which come from Mainland newspapers and other communication sources, Hawaii is often touted as being a racial paradise. Some local people gloss over the few published incidents which indicate racial prejudice and ignore the day-to-day signs of prejudice.

The attitudes of local people towards the various racial groups which constitute its population have been a frequent subject of research, some of it published, much of it remaining unpublished. One racial group, the American Negro, however, has not been the subject of very much research, although Mainland Negroes have been the focus of literally volumes of psychological and sociological research.

There are several probable reasons for this lack of interest in the local Negro population, the main one likely being the relatively small number of local Negro inhabitants. Another possible factor is that land of familial origin is often more important in indicating "in-group" background then is color or race in the anthropological sense.

Lloyd Lee[1] published an account of the Negro status in Hawaii as it existed shortly after World War II, and this seems to remain a definitive work, in spite of subsequent alterations in attitudes and living conditions of local negroes.

Historically, as Lee points out, the Negroes did play a definite role in the development of Hawaii, although records are sparse and confused. Contemporaneously, the Negro has appeared to fit well into the local society and has received a minimum of discrimination in terms of housing, service, employment, etc. According to one prominent member of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the organization was disbanded due, largely, to lack of a felt need on the part of the local population; a more recent movement to gather together Negroes has met with most response from newcomers to the Islands and has been largely ignored by the older and more permanent residents.

Research on attitudes towards the Negro has shown that, although the Negro is better accepted in Hawaii than he is on the Mainland, this race is

[1] Lee, Lloyd L., Brief Analysis of the Role and Status of the Negro in the Community, Amer. Soc. Rev XIII (1948) p. 419-437, A Master's Thesis.

still "low man on the local racial totem pole" and out-marriages to American Negroes are more frowned upon than out-marriages to any other local racial group.[2]

Since the magazines, movies, and other information-communication media are largely the same in Hawaii as on the Mainland, it also appears that many of the common stereotypes concerning the Negroes are as prevalent in Hawaii as on the Mainland, although less so. It is important to realize, however, that the kamaaina Negroes in Hawaii are not always lumped with the more recent residents regarding these stereotypes. They are accepted as "local" and little is made of their Negro affiliation. Frequently, in a fashion similar to that discussed by Drake and Cayton, 3 members of this latter look upon any problems concerning Negroes recently arrived as affecting them via the 'guilt by association' channel and resent the intrusion of the newcomers as a force possibly disturbing their already-achieved integration into Island life.

In addition to communication media, another possible--and as yet unmeasured--source of racial discrimination comes as a result of tourists from Southern states prefering not to be accommodated in hotels which are open to the colored races. This has occurred in other tourist areas of North America and there is no reason to believe that Hawaii will remain immune.

PURPOSE:

It seemed of interest in connection with the local Negro situation (the word 'problem' is consciously avoided, since no particular 'problem' exists at present) to learn of the relative regard accorded the Negro by comparable local and Mainland non-Negro groups. This would be a beginning in the scientific understanding of differences between Hawaiian and Mainland attitudes towards the Negro, thus placing the local feeling in some perspective. At the same time, it would give an indication of what local feeling is in general.

INSTRUMENT:

To this end, an attitude scale of feelings regarding the Negro has been administered to two local groups of college students and one Mainland group. (See below for explanation of groups.)

The scale consists of twenty-one items concerning the feelings of the testee to Negroes. The test is merely a series of statements to which the respondent is to reply in terms of "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "?," "Disagree," and "Strongly Disagree." (A twenty-third item was dropped in the final tabulation due to conclusion of interpretation.) Of the twenty-two statements, ten were so stated that the response "Strongly Disagree" would indicate higher acceptance of the Negro; twelve, that "Strongly Agree" would show greater acceptance.

The scale was originally constructed for use with Mainland university students and did not always specify "Negro," but frequently referred to "colored." Because of the numerous non-Negro residents of Hawaii who

2 Dole, Arthur, unpublished research.

3 Drake, St. C. & Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1945).

might be considered "colored," the form was changed to specify Negroes in each case when administered in Hawaii.

A final question on the original form asked the percentage of Americans the respondent considered "racially prejudiced;" for Hawaiian administration, this was re-worded to read "percentage of people in this country who are prejudiced against Negores." The basis of this item was the evidence that showed that people who are prejudiced themselves tend to endow a greater percentage of the general population with prejudice.

Since no available attitude form was considered adequate for the task involved, the author constructed a new form. A large number of the items on this form were culled from previous forms, including the scale constructed by Hinckley,[4] the scale used in the Authoritarian Personality,[5] and the social distance scale originated by Bogardus.[6] Some items went into the new scale in altered form, some were retained exactly as on the original scales, and some items were completely new. A modification of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was included and accounted for eight of the items on the final scale.

All items were obvious as to intent, and faking could easily have been accomplished, although there was no obvious motivation to do so, other than the self-concept of the respondent. This form will be referred to as the Scale of Attitudes to the Negro (SAN).

SUBJECTS:

Since this research was part of a larger project, the subjects were picked largely by accident. The college student remains, unfortunately, the most readily available 'captive' subject, and was, thus, used in this research.

Mainland subjects were fifty white students in an elementary psychology class at a large private and secular midwestern university. These students were nearly all freshmen or sophomores; most of them resided in an urban industrial city, many living in the suburban areas. There were numerous Negro students at the university, and it is probable that every student in the class had had at least two or three classes with Negroes, perhaps lived in the same dormitory with Negroes, and ate at the same cafeteria with Negroes.

These students were asked to sign their names to the form before handing it in, which should have accentuated their desires to fake their responses, especially since the class instructor was known to be extremely liberal racially.

One local group of students consisted of fifty students in a class in elementary sociology at the University of Hawaii. These students were also nearly all freshmen and sophomores; it is likely that sixty percent resided

[4] Hinckley, E. D., "The Influence of Individual Opinion on Construction of an Attitude Scale," Journal of Social Psychology, III (1932), p. 283-295.

[5] Adorno, T. W., et al, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harpers, 1950).

[6] Bogardus, in Newcomb & Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, 1947), p. 503-507.

in Honolulu or its suburbs. They did not place their names on their papers, except in a few instances by accident.

The second local group of students consisted of forty students in a advanced class in psychology at the University of Hawaii. These students were nearly all juniors or seniors and graduate students; again, it is probable that sixty percent lived in Honolulu. About one quarter of these students placed their names on their papers.

None of the students in any of the groups were aware of the purposes of the research nor were any aware that the results would be published. All the forms were administered in class as part of the class program; in all cases, questions pertaining to the nature of the form were deferred until after completion.

SCORING:

A response showing strong agreement with the non-prejudiced point of view was scored as 'five' points; general agreement was scored as '4' points; a question mark was scored as '3' points; and disagreement and strong disagreement were scored as '2' points and '1' point respectively. This gave a possible range of from twenty-two to one-hundred-ten points. The actual range, of course, was much more restricted.

RESULTS:

The comparable scores of the three groups can best be seen by reference to Figure 1, expressed in terms of percentages. It is apparent that the two Hawaiian groups scored as being much less prejudiced than the Mainland group. It is also interesting to note that the more advanced students at the University of Hawaii were consistently less prejudiced than were the freshmen and sophomore students.

Regarding the twenty-third item that relating to the number as prejudiced people in the country, again the two Hawaiian groups assume much less prejudice than does the Mainland group, although there is no difference between the local groups in this case. Since the number of Mainland students in each of the Hawaii groups is unknown, the effects of these students on the group totals is impossible to determine. (See Figure 2)

The raw data show that one half of the Mainland group received a raw score of 84 or below, as compared with one third of the younger Hawaii students and one fourth of the older Hawaii students; two-thirds of the Mainland freshmen and sophomores scored as more prejudiced than one-half of their Hawaiian counterparts; fully one-third of the Mainland students registered a raw score of 75 or below, while less than five percent of the two Hawaiian groups were that prejudiced.

DISCUSSION:

For purposes of interpreting the results, it is necessary to remember the possibility of faking, even though there was no perceived sign that such was done. It is also necessary to realize that many of the Hawaiian students have had little contact with Negroes, that the heroes of both football and basketball are Negroes, and that the tradition in Hawaii is such that prejudices, even if felt, are not expected to be shown.

This last is a most important commentary, since it could conceivably have been the only real difference between the local and Mainland groups.

It is completely possible that exactly the same prejudices do exist, but that local students, with a tradition for non-prejudice, will not admit their feelings even on unsigned forms. It must also be pointed out again that the request that the Mainland students place their names on their papers might have partially compensated for Hawaiian prejudice against prejudice. However, with these considerations understood, it becomes necessary to analyze the data on their own merits and assume that they give a true picture of relative feelings.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the data in Figure 1 is that local students are considerably more liberal regarding the American Negro than are Mainland university students. This might be a result of the fact that Negroes do not provide an economic or political threat in Hawaii; it might be due to the small number of local Negroes; it could conceivably be a function of the extensive mingling of races that occurs in Hawaii; another hypothesis is that the psychological climate in Hawaii is such that racial prejudice does not exist as much as on the Mainland; it could be that the local people, being of minority groups themselves, have more positive feeling to other minority groups; or it could be a combination of these and many more factors.

On the other hand, it would be foolish to ignore the fact that numerous local students did indicate a certain amount of prejudice, a situation to be expected in a real community, but one that prevents our acceptance of Hawaii as racial utopia.

In evaluating the results of the final item, it is interesting to note that, in accordance with the theory which led to the inclusion of this question, the Hawaiians do recognize much less prejudice than do the Mainland students. This would be consistent with the idea that the Hawaiians are less prejudiced.

One flaw, however, mars this argument. A coorelation performed between "percentage prejudiced against the Negro" (answer to last question) and total raw score on the SAN for the group of Hawaii elementary sociology students (N=50) was found to be positive (.15) although low. This shows that, at least within this one group, the less prejudiced individuals (those having higher raw scores) perceived a higher proportion of the country as prejudiced, a result in direct variance with previous research. Although the sample here is too limited to be used as a basis for refuting previously acknowledged research, it undoubtedly places it under question.

Therefore, in order to understand the differences between Mainland and Hawaii students in their recognition of prejudice, it is necessary to turn to another hypothesis. A very likely one is that the local students, not having had much personal contact with prejudice or personal feelings of prejudice, do not realize the extent of prejudice that prevails; the least-prejudiced of the local students may be more aware of reality and the several studies of racial prejudice in the United States and this caused them to give the higher estimate.

SUMMARY:

Research was carried on to determine the relative feelings towards Negroes of local and Mainland university students. A new attitude scale was devised for this purpose. Local students, according to the scale, showed less anti-Negro feeling than did Mainland students.

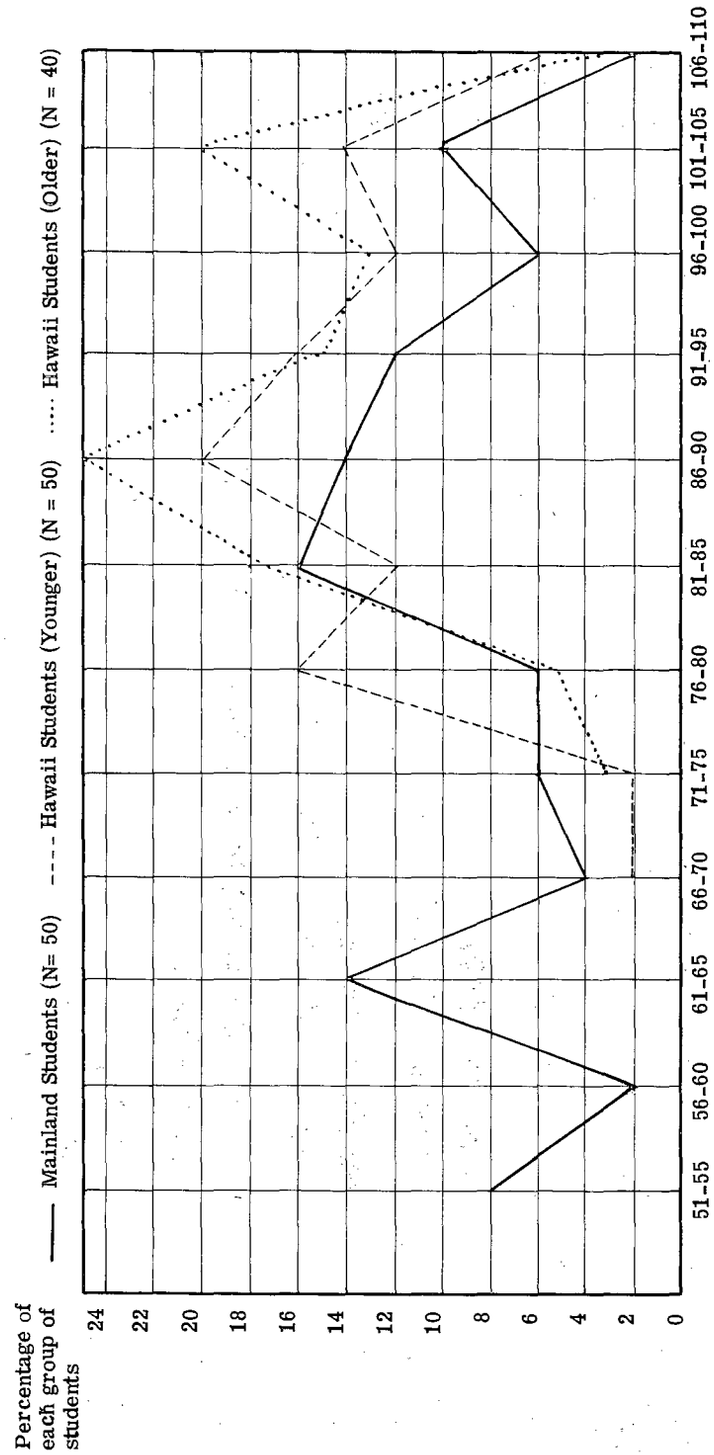

FIGURE 1 - PERCENTAGE OF EACH STUDENT GROUP OBTAINING INDICATED RAW SCORE ON PREJUDICE TEST. HIGH SCORE INDICATES LOW PREJUDICE.

1 - Mainland Students (two omitted this item)
2 - Hawaii Students (Younger) (one omitted this item)
3 - Hawaii Students (Older) (two omitted this item)

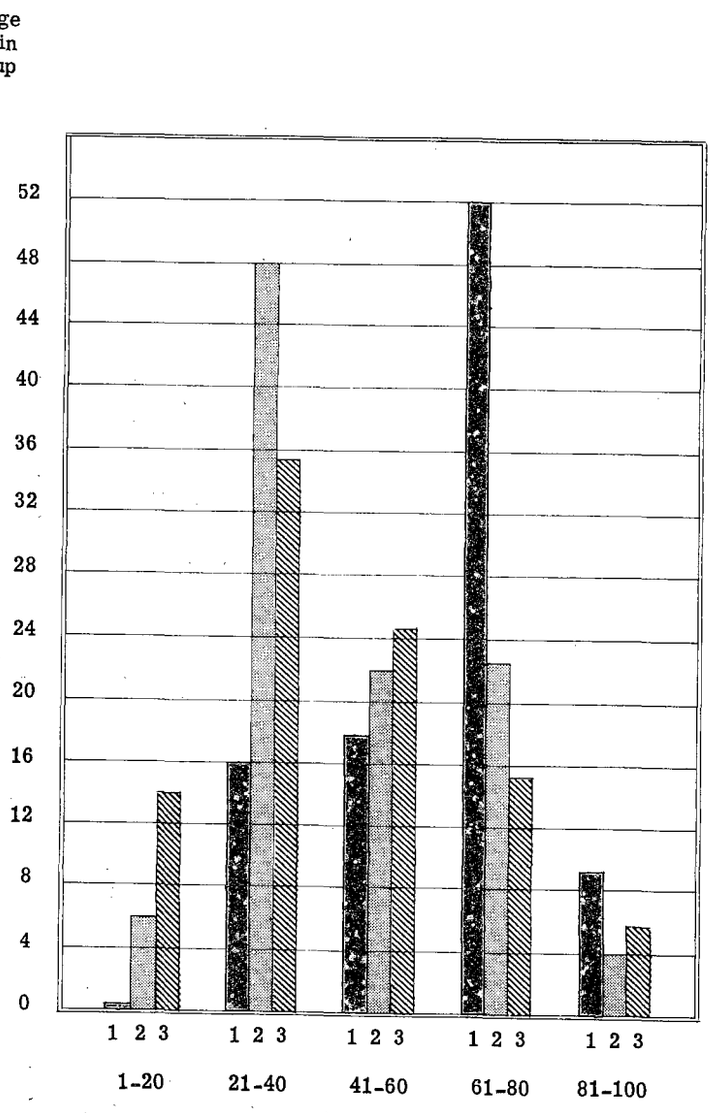

FIGURE 2 ITEM 23 FROM SAN. PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE FELT TO BE RACIALLY PREJUDICED AS JUDGED BY THREE GROUPS OF STUDENTS.

CERTAIN ECOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF HONOLULU

Bernhard Hormann

American sociologists who have attempted to test in Honolulu the principles of human ecology as these have been developed in the study of American cities have often expected Honolulu to be markedly different from American cities.

Schmitt, for instance, lists six unique characteristics: (1) that Honolulu's metropolitan district comprises an island, which (2) is 2,000 miles from a continent, (3) has a fairly limited economic base: services to the armed forces, tourism, and plantation agriculture, whose (4) employment centers are widely dispersed. (5) Except for rainfall, it has an equable climate, and (6) its ethnic composition is unique.[1] Like the travellers to Hawaii, sociologists expect to find a South Sea town, or, knowing that over half the population is derived from the Far East, a typical Oriental city.

Like the travellers, however, who are surprised by Honolulu's heavy traffic, well-executed window displays, hurrying conservatively dressed pedestrian businessmen, department stores, and supermarkets, the sociologists looking at Honolulu soon find a rather typical American city. The traveller may, if he is observant, notice certain ways in which Honolulu does differ, for instance, the complete absence of billboards both in the city and the surrounding countryside. So the sociologist may find certain respects in which Honolulu stands out. These characteristics have, like the absence of billboards, distinct relevance for American cities, rather than being highly bizarre or exotic irrelevant characteristics.

What, then, are ways in which Honolulu is, ecologically considered, a typical American community?

In the first place, it is a center of dominance by which its hinterland is economically integrated with the national and world market. In much the same way as New York city and Chicago dominate New York state and Illinois, contain roughly half the population of the states, and are distinguished socially and politically from up-state and down-state respectively, so Honolulu dominates Hawaii, contains about half its population,[2] and is distinguished from the "outside" or "neighbor" islands.[3] With its location at the center of the archipelago and with its small but well protected harbor on the leeward side of Oahu, it was natural that Honolulu eventually out-distanced its earlier rivals, particularly Kailua on the Big Island and Lahaina on Maui, for supremacy. Today it is about ten times larger than its nearest urban rival, Hilo.

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[1] Robert C. Schmitt, "Illegitimate Birth Rates in an Atypical Community," American Journal of Sociology, LXI, 5 (March, 1956), p. 476.

[2] Hawaii is statistically about 70 per cent urban (1950), the nation as a whole having only a little over 60 per cent living in urban communities. In contrast, the great peasant populations, such as Egypt, Indonesia, China are 80 to 90 per cent rural.

[3] Andrew W. Lind, An Island Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), is an ecological study of the Hawaiian Islands explaining, among other things, how Honolulu became the center of dominance of the whole group and the connecting link with the outside world.

As a trans-Pacific port of call and the distribution center for the Islands its prosperity was built on commerce. Today an important point on major international ocean and air routes it has a place on what Robert E. Park used to call the Main Street of the World.

In a second respect, its internal layout and structure, Honolulu is like Mainland cities. In many parts, Honolulu is laid out in the checker-board block system typical of most American cities. There are, however, important exceptions. In the down-town section immediately adjacent to the harbor are narrow nineteenth-century streets and several at curious angles, reminiscent of Boston. The topography of mountain spurs and valleys which form the backdrop behind the half-mile to mile of gently sloping plain makes of each of these heights and valleys a distinctive neighborhood with its own pattern of streets and its own social characteristics. In addition to the closed valleys, the further fact that large tracts of land within the sprawling city have been tied up in private estates has made for many dead-end lanes, a few of them still ending today as most did in former years in little "rural" neighborhoods with orchards, truck-gardens of vegetables and flowers, nurseries, duck ponds, chicken farms, and piggeries. In the case of leasehold real estate developments, racial segregation has at times been the outcome. Thus, Honolulu has local neighborhoods of distinctive character, but it is probable that most other American cities could match this characteristic, which, it must also be mentioned, is being weakened by the building of new thoroughfares and the general mobility of the population.

When the attempt has been made to study Honolulu is structive with the concepts which the human ecologist developed in the study of Chicago and other American cities, it has been clear that the city, on the whole, fits into this scheme. It is not, like the old cities of Asia and Europe, an adding up of segments each specializing in some handicraft. It is, like its American sister-cities, a nucleated city, at whose center is not only the major retail shopping area for the whole metropolitan region and its hinterland, but also the focus of integration and control between the industrial and trading activities of the city and its hinterland on the one hand and the wider world on the other.

As in Chicago, one can note a series of concentric semi-circles. Zone One is "downtown," Honolulu's "Loop." Zone Two is the area of transition, with slums, ghettos, blight, industry, wholesale houses, and warehouses (Iwilei, Palama, Kakaako, lower Nuuanu-Fort, Alapai). Zone Three is the area of working men's homes and rooming-houses (Kakaako, Pawaa, Palama-Kalihi, Punchbowl, lower Nuuanu). In Zone Four are the single homes of the middle class and increasingly apartment houses in the Chicago pattern (Makiki, Punahou, McCully, Waikiki, Manoa, Kaimuki, Nuuanu, parts of Kalihi, the heights). Finally Zone Five contains the residences of the upper class (Diamond Head, Kahala, the upper heights and valleys, the new outlying tracts). As in Chicago this idealized conception is not consistently maintained. It is disturbed by the topograhpical and land-ownership features mentioned above. It is modified by large traffic arteries, such as King and Beretania Streets and Kapiolani and Dillingham Boulevards, extending in several directions from the center of the city, the extensions of "downtown" and links with outlying districts. As in Mainland cities retail shopping centers in outlying neighborhoods, such as Waikiki, Kaimuki, Kalihi, become smaller nuclei pulling traffic away from the center. In some cases, such as Kapahulu, these are attracting industry. As in many other cities, the slums as one leaves the heart of the city in one direction (Palama and Kalihi) are more extensive than in another direction (Makiki, Punahou, McCully), and unskilled laborers tend to be found living

in the Palama and Kalihi sections, while skilled laborers and white collar workers live in larger proportions in the opposite directions. This is related to the fact that people at the lower end of the economic scale live close to work and in Honolulu industries are found in larger number towards the west. This in turn is related to the location of the freight-handling wharves in Honolulu harbor and the fact that the island's hinterland is to the west.

Land values have in general followed the gradients found in Mainland cities. The highest land values are those along the six or seven blocks in the heart of the city, the focal point of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, but land values also tend to be high along the major thoroughfares and in the outlying shopping centers. Waikiki land values, as would be expected, are among the highest, but in recent years their rate of increase has not kept pace with the increases in the newer suburban developments, areas of recent population expansion.[4]

Because of the large amount of land belonging to large estates less land is available in fee simple for residential purposes, large residential sections, such as Kahala, Waialae-Kahala, Aina-Haina being leasehold. This is one explanation for the fact that residential property sells at such relatively high prices in contrast to comparable Mainland cities. The high cost of building materials, almost all of which are shipping in from the Pacific Coast, is another factor.

The movement of Honolulu's population from the center outward is a third ecological characteristic repeating the experience of Mainland cities. While today still the densest population is found in Zone 2 of the city, people are steadily moving out towards the periphery. Thus the most densely occupied part of Honolulu is Hell's Half Acre, the section just west of Nuuanu River, where in 1940 a population of 8923 lived almost 150 (147.9) per acre. By 1950, with a total population of 7,842, over a thousand less, the density was down to 122 per acre. The density of Chinatown, a little nearer to the center of the city, only eighty-seven per acre in 1940, was down to seventy-six ten years later. Typical middle-class areas in Kaimuki and Manoa have densities of between twenty and forty persons per acre. Because of the general absence up to now of larger apartment buildings such densities are undoubtedly low for middle-class areas in large American cities. That the movement of population is outward is clearly indicated by the growth of such areas as Aina Haina, Kailua-Lanikai, and Aiea, all of which increased greatly in population in the decade and all of which have a major proportion of their resident population commuting to work in the city. Another way of indicating this trend is to point out that the public schools towards the center of the city are losing in enrollment year after year, while in the outer zones schools are growing and new ones are being organized.

Observers of this characteristic outward movement in American cities have interpreted it as evidence that cities die at the center. It is, however, more correct to say that growing cities must convert increasing areas of land at the core of the city from residential use to higher economic utilization, and that with modern modes of transportation the possible

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[4] Richard Walter Coller, "Waikiki: A Study of Invasion and Succession as Applied to a Tourist Area," (University of Hawaii unpublished master's thesis in sociology, 1952). p. 83.

commuting area becomes increasingly large. As Kingsley Davis puts it: "The same forces which have made extreme urbanization possible have also made metropolitan dispersion possible, and the dispersion itself has contributed to further urbanization by making large conurbations more efficient and more endurable."[5]

A fourth question of great interest in studying the ecology of the city of Honolulu is the degree to which the several differentiated races are segregated. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory has prepared maps showing the distribution of the population by race for each census from 1920 to date. These show clearly that as new groups, such as the Filipinos in this period, have entered the city from rural areas they have established their first residence in the zone of transition around the central business section. In the case of the Filipinos they moved into the area directly west of Chinatown, popularly called Hell's Half Acre. But with each succeeding census their distribution has become more diffuse throughout the city. Dispersion is perhaps most characteristic for the Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians, increasingly so for the Caucasians, Chinese, and Japanese, and least so for the Filipinos.

It is becoming almost impossible to find what the sociologist calls a ghetto, that is an area exclusively or almost exclusively occupied by one ethnic group. In Chinatown, for instance, identificable as census tract 29, only 18 per cent of the population is Chinese, that is 821 individuals. In Chinatown they are now outnumbered by the Japanese, and the Filipinos lacked nine to equal the number of Chinese in 1950. For the city as a whole, the Chinese constitute 11 per cent of the total, and there are seven census tracts in various parts of the city where the proportion of Chinese is greater than in Chinatown; and two where it equals that of Chinatown. These cut a central swath from Lanakila Park to lower Kaimuki, and are what the sociologist calls areas of second settlement. One area, in no sense a ghetto, above School between Liliha and Nuuanu, has as high a percentage as 26 of Chinese.

Yet as recently as 1930, 47 per cent of Chinatown was Chinese, and ten years before that it was still over half (54 per cent) Chinese. According to a study of Glick, Honolulu's Chinatown never, even at its peak had more than 75 per cent of the total Chinese population of the city and never was it strictly a Chinese ghetto, for at all census periods there were always Hawaiians and immigrants other than Chinese living beside the Chinese.[6] Glick thus already in 1937 found Honolulu's Chinese far more dispersed than the Chinese in Mainland cities, even though they outnumbered the Chinese there. In one lower-middle-class area in 1930 he found 31 per cent Chinese population, but since here the Chinese had neighbors of other groups, this could not, he argued, be looked at as a "segregated" district, according to the Mainland pattern.

Of the sixty-one tracts which the 1950 census used, only seventeen had more than 50 per cent of one ancestral background. Of these eight had a majority of Caucasians and nine a majority of Japanese, but only six had more than 70 per cent of either of these two groups. Two military housing areas between Honolulu and Pearl Harbor had 94 and 73 per cent Caucasian

[5] Kingsley Davis, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World," American Journal of Sociology, LX, 5 (March, 1955), pp. 429-437.

[6] Clarence Glick, "Residential Dispersion of Urban Chinese," Social Process in Hawaii, III (1937).

population, and one of the Waikiki tracts had 76 per cent Caucasian. Two contiguous tracts, Pawaa and McCully below King, had 72 and 76 per cent Japanese, and a section of Waialae 89 per cent. This last included a community of Japanese farmers who have since been moved to make way for an upper-middle-class leasehold housing development. None of these areas are of course true ghettos. In driving through these areas, one sees in them, with the possible exception of the somewhat non-urban last one now vanished away, nothing markedly different from similar neighborhoods in let us say San Diego or Portland, Oregon.

Persons who know the city intimately can point to certain little neighborhoods or parts of blocks where the population is solidly of one ancestry, vestiges of earlier more extensive segregation. But such neighborhoods are becoming fewer in number and the remaining ones will inevitably succumb within the next decade or two to "invasion," which will destroy their ethnic uniformity.

A little study by Norman Westly shows how this process is going on before our very eyes.[7] While in 1940, 46 per cent of the home owners in a middle to lower-upper area were Caucasian, ten years later there were only 20 per cent. The "invaders" were primarily Japanese and Chinese. The change occurred as homes owned by Caucasians were sold to Orientals and as certain large estates were sub-divided by Chinese real estate "huis," with the purchasers being primarily Oriental.

A statistical analysis of 1940 and 1950 census data by Yamamura and Sakumoto[8] indicates that the trend in that decade was for the decline in the correlation between race and occupation and between race and residential location, and that the relationship between race and residence was in 1950 still greater than that between occupation and race. The authors, however, are confident that the latter relationship will increase, because when race is no longer an important correlate of occupation, people leave the residential areas which they first entered because of their race and take up residence in areas conforming to the occupational, that is socio-economic level, which they have attained.

That the showing of Honolulu in respect to racial desegregation residentially considered is far ahead of Mainland cities is indicated by a study by Cowgill, who computed segregation scores, 1940 and 1950, for 185 cities and found that their composite score increased slightly during that period, and went down in only 52 of the 185 cities.[9]

If, however, the residential desegregation of immigrant European nationality groups in American cities could be studied, the experience would no doubt be quite comparable to that of Honolulu.

A fifth noteworthy feature in which Honolulu shows the general characteristics of other American cities is the presence of a higher degree of what

[7] Norman T. Westly, "Race Difference in Home Ownership in the Makiki Area," Social Process in Hawaii, XVIII (1954), 33-34.

[8] Douglas S. Yamamura and Raymond Sakumoto, "Residential Segregation in Honolulu," Social Process in Hawaii, XVIII (1954), 35-46.

[9] Donald O. Cowgill, "Trends in Residential Segregation of Nonwhites in American Cities, 1940-1950," American Sociological Review XXI, 1 (February, 1956), 43-47.

the sociologist calls "social disorganization" and the social worker "social breakdown" in zones 1 and 2 and parts of 3 than in the other zones. Early studies by Lind and maps prepared under his direction over a period of almost thirty years, show the distribution of various kinds of behavior symptomatic of disorganization throughout the city. We see a concentration in the zone of transition of juvenile delinquency, adult crime, mental illness, dependency, illegitimate births, suicides, a concentration which is maintained throughout the period and which is like that found in Chicago, where the pioneer studies of this sort were done. Schmitt's more recent studies have also confirmed this American pattern of urban social disorganization.10

The study done by Lind twenty-five years ago showed up a remarkable contrast in regard to delinquency. It was correct that a large number of delinquents were to be found living in the zone of transition than elsewhere. It was also true, however, that the Japanese rate was unusually low. Lind discovered, further, that in the areas in question there were parts of blocks (camps) and tenement buildings occupied exclusively by Japanese, and other neighborhoods where the population was quite mixed, including Japanese. Japanese delinquents were found to be residing in the latter areas, not in the former. This suggested to Lind that in the exclusively Japanese areas the Japanese parents were in a better position to maintain control over their children because in their efforts they were able both to give support to and receive support from their neighbors. Sociologically these constituted ghettos, the mixed areas of looser controls, slums.11

The Japanese delinquency rate has remained extremely low in the twenty-five years which have elapsed since Lind's study. Even today large numbers of Japanese still live in the areas of deterioration. The fact that they have constituted the largest minority in the population of the city during this whole period has no doubt made it possible for them to maintain stronger social controls in the pattern of their Old World culture than the smaller minorities. The very emphasis of Japanese culture on strength of family life is, it might be argued, also a factor, for certain groups with a looser family structure (Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans) have continued to have high rates throughout the period under observation. That the intrinsic size of the group is in itself a factor is suggested by the fact that the Korean rates have for some time been high even though the Korean family pattern is much like that of the Japanese. Their much smaller number in Honolulu has made it more difficult for them to maintain Old World controls, as is also indicated by their earlier discarding of the ancestral language and their higher out-marriage rates.

The case of the Japanese will be an interesting one to watch. Have their large numbers merely postponed the emancipation and disorganization stage by perhaps one generation and is a period of more general social maladjustment still awaiting them? Or will the maintenance of social control effect a "controlled" process of Americanization, guided by Nisei parents and making unnecessary a difficult and strained transition? Research into this areas will have important implications not only for the understanding of the transitions in Hawaii but in other parts of the world.

10 See particularly Robert C. Schmitt, Housing ,Health, and Social Breakdown on Oahu: A Study of Census Tract Statistics (Honolulu: Honolulu Redevelopment Agency, September, 1954, lithoprinted).

11 Andrew W. Lind, "The Ghetto and the Slum," Social Forces, IX (December, 1930), 206-216.

The Hawaiians have shown high disorganization rates and these have been attributed to their maintenance of certain traditional practices which persistently bring them into conflict with the wider community with its European-American laws and mores, but also to the far greater social disorganization which they experienced as a folk people completely inexperienced with commercial literate urban civilization. The immigrant peasant peoples on the other hand, came from civilizations characterized by trade, literacy, and cities.

At any rate, Lind's early qualification of the theory that social breakdown is endemic to the zone of transition seems to have been sound.12 On the Mainland, too, studies like those of the Gluecks have suggested qualifications. The Honolulu record shows that the ancestral way of life of a people, including their family structure, is important. Their size and age and sex structure must be considered. Their previous experience with urban civilization and their length of residence in Honolulu are noticeable factors. Further intensive studies in Honolulu should make it possible for us to identify more clearly not only the factors making for disorganization, but also the very process whereby breakdown takes place in individuals and families.

In his paper, which is a companion to the ghetto-slum article, Lind speaks of the melting pot of races as a crucible of crime, suggesting that crime is one of the aspects in the process of breaking down racial exclusiveness and in that sense a part of the process of assimilation. Now a quarter of a century later, when the concentric pattern is still observable, the question arises as to the strength of the other crucibles: interracial "neighboring," friendships and marriages; interracial community organization; and interracial economic, political, and religious activity. How have these gained in strength to fill the vacuum created when the folk and immigrant peasant peoples of Hawaii become emancipated from their traditional mores and do they do so more or less effectively than crime?

In sum we may say that in very definite respects Honolulu shows the ecological characteristics of U.S. cities. It is a center of dominance over its surrounding hinterland integrating it with the wider world. It follows the concentric zonal pattern, although, as in Mainland cities, with modifications. Its population is moving outward from the center. The earlier ethnic segregation, never as high as in Mainland cities, is breaking down--and apparently faster than on the Mainland. It shows a certain concentration of forms of social disorganization in Zone 2, but also variations of this typical pattern, suggestive of problems for further research. Honolulu is thus like its sister-cities of industrial America, rather than like the older cities of the Eastern Hemisphere. It has a few characteristics which cause it to stand out from American cities. If Honolulu is a type of American city, their research on these special characteristics, not all of which have been brought out in this article, should have pertinence primarily for our understanding of American cities.

12 Andrew W. Lind, "Some Ecological Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVI, 2 (September, 1930) 206-220.

A STUDY IN SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN HAWAII

David B. Carpenter

Residents of the Territory are not equal in their prestige, influence, wealth, income, worldly goods, and possession of other characteristics which are highly valued in our kind of society. An enormously intricate system of preferences and discriminations operates to rate and classify residents as higher and lower in esteem and status.

The physical distribution of population within the Territory reflects both the sharp differentials in status of residents and the tendency for families of similar status to cluster together. On some of Hawaii's hills, in certain of her valleys, and along selected of her beaches, cluster the homes of her most privileged and most highly esteemed citizens. On other hills, in different valleys, and along lowly beaches, are to be found the shacks and slum homes of her least privileged and least highly esteemed citizens. In between these extremes lie the homes of the vast majority of the population of the islands. Often mansion and shack are less than a stone's throw apart physically, yet a world apart socially. The contrasts they represent are not alone physical and economic. Profound gulfs in attitudes, aspirations, and ways of life, are here to be found.

How may differences in socio-economic status among areas be measured? Which are the areas of high, intermediate, and low status? In what ways are high and low status areas most sharply differentiated? It is in order to attempt the answer to such questions as these that the present study has been undertaken.

The Territory of Hawaii is divided for statistical purposes into 140 areas, with an average of 3,500 to 4,000 residents each. These areas, called census tracts, have been delimited in such a way as to correspond when possible with existing communities and neighborhoods. In the 1950 Census of Population and Housing, data were collected and published concerning the people and characteristics of each of these 140 census tracts. It will be our procedure in this paper to utilize data from the 1950 Census in constructing an index of socio-economic status which can be used in comparing these tracts.

From the various items for which data are available, fifteen indexes have been selected for inclusion in our measure of the average level of living of each tract. Three indexes relate to the educational level of the population age 25 and over: (a) percentage who graduated from college; (b) percentage who graduated from high school; and (c) percentage who graduated from eighth grade. Three indexes deal with the 1949 incomes of families and self-supporting individuals living apart from families: (a) percentage with incomes over $10,000; (b) percentage with incomes over $5,000; and (c) percentage with incomes over $2,000. Three indexes deal with the occupations of regularly employed civilian males: (a) percentage employed at professional, technical, managerial, and official jobs; and (c) percentage employed at other than unskilled labor. Four indexes relate to housing and household facilities: (a) percentage of households with private bath and housing not dilapidated; (b) percentage with running water and housing not dilapidated; (c) percentage with electricity; and (d) percentage with mechanical refrigeration. The final two indexes relate to crowding: (a) percentage of dwelling units with 1.00 person per room or less; and (b) percentage with 1.50 persons per room or less.

The Index of Socio-Economic Status (SES) is the simple arithmetic mean of the above 15 percentages separately calculated for each of the 140 census tracts. Scores may range from 0 to 100, but cannot rise above 100 nor fall below 0. A tract with an SES score of 0 would be one in which no one had graduated from eighth grade; all incomes were below $2,000; all employment was at unskilled labor; no homes enjoyed running water, electricity, and mechanical refrigeration; and all homes had more than 1.50 persons per room. A tract with an SES score of 100 would be one in which all persons age 25 and over were college graduates; all incomes were $10,000 or more; all employment was at professional or technical jobs; all dwelling units were in good repair with private bath, electricity, and mechanical refrigeration; and no households held more than 1.00 person per room.

TABLE 1
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS SCORES OF 140 CENSUS TRACTS, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

Socio-Economic Status Score	Number of Tracts	Percent of Tracts
All scores	140	100.0
10.0 to 19.9	1	.7
20.0 to 29.9	4	2.9
30.0 to 39.9	11	7.9
40.0 to 49.9	57	40.7
50.0 to 59.9	38	27.1
60.0 to 69.9	25	17.8
70.0 to 79.9	4	2.9

Source of data: Table 2

In Table 1 are presented the 140 census tracts of Hawaii classified according to their SES scores. The majority of tracts cluster close to the median score of 49.5--95 out of 140 tracts have scores ranging from 40.0 to 59.9. Sixteen low-score tracts range between 10.0 and 39.9. Twenty-nine high-score tracts range from 60.0 to 79.9.

Table 2 at the end of this paper presents detailed data for each of the census tracts, including SES score, rank among the 140 tracts, and the 15 component percentages which were averaged in computing the Index of Socio-Economic Status. Chart 1 identifies each of the tracts on a map of the Territory of Hawaii. Scoring lowest among all tracts, with an SES score of 12.6, is Census Tract K-1, the island of Niihau. At the top with SES scores above 70 are four tracts: 29-C, Aina Haina; 25-C, Diamond Head; 21-B, lower Manoa Valley; and 22-B, Waikiki between Kalakaua and the canal. The presence of resident servants lowered somewhat the otherwise high scores of certain other high-prestige tracts.

Both to test the validity of the Index of Socio-Economic Status and to find the one or two indexes which most accurately predicted SES scores, correlations were run between the Index of Socio-Economic Status and each of the 15 component indexes. The 15 coefficients of correlations, arranged from high to low, are as follows: (1) percent high school graduates, +.91; (2) percent homes with private bath, +.89; (3) percent homes with mech-

anical refrigeration, +.89; (4) percent eighth-grade graduates, +.87; (5) percent professional and technical jobs, +.83; (6) percent not employed at unskilled labor, +.81; (7) percent of homes with electricity, +.75; (8) percent college graduates, +.74; (9) percent incomes $5,000 or more, +.70; (10) percent incomes $2,000 or more, +.68; (11) percent incomes $10,000 or more, +.61; (12) percent of homes with running water, +.58; (13) percent professional, technical, managerial, and official jobs, +.56; (14) percent households with 1.50 or less persons per room, +.46; and (15) percent households with 1.00 or less persons per room, +.44.

Educational level was found to be the best measure of socio-economic status, followed, in order, by housing facilities, occupation, income, and absence of crowding. The single best indicator of overall socio-economic status was found to be "percent of population age 25 and over who are high school graduates."

These findings correspond to those of Schmid[1] and Kinsey[2] who also found educational level to be the most dependable single indicator of socio-economic status--Schmid for census tracts among 23 U. S. cities and Kinsey for a sample of U. S. males. These findings contrast with Warner's[3] finding that occupation is the key factor in the American status system. Problems in accuracy of reporting and adequacy of categories may partly account for lower than expected correlations between SES scores and both occupation and income. Crowded living is apparently not as closely intercorrelated with overall socio-economic status as other characteristics analyzed.

However, the generally high correlations found between SES scores and component indexes indicate a clustering of the various indexes of social and economic well-being. It is quite clear that in the Territory, areas of high average educational level are generally areas of higher than average income, better housing, more household facilities, and dominantly higher-status white-collar jobs. And areas which have low percentages of high school graduates tend to be also areas of low income, poor housing, few facilities, and low-status jobs.

It is hoped that the Index of Socio-Economic Status may be useful in further analyses of relationships with social, economic, health, welfare, attitudinal, and other characteristics in which social stratification may play some role. Certainly effective planning in Hawaii can scarcely ignore some of the implications of the great socio-economic differentials between local areas.

1 Calvin F. Schmid, "Generalizations Concerning the Ecology of the American City," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), pp. 264-281.

2 Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.

3 W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America.

TABLE 2
FIFTEEN COMPONENTS OF INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES), 140 CENSUS TRACTS, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

Rank of Census Tract	Census Tract	SES Index (mean %)	Percent Age 25 & Over Who Graduate From		Percent of Families & Unrelated Individuals With Incomes Over		Percent Employed Civilian Males Who Are			Percent of Household With			Percent Homes Persons/Room	
			College	High School	8th Grade	$10,000	$5000	$2000	Profes-sional	Profes. Mgrial.	Not Laborer	Privt. Bath	Run. Water	Elec-tric	Mech. Refrig.	Under 1.00	Under 1.50
City of Honolulu																	
17	1-A	64.3	5.5	59.9	91.2	0.0	23.6	93.6	8.3	12.8	95.4	87.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.4	98.6
18	1-B	63.8	6.2	54.5	86.8	0.7	23.9	94.5	10.1	12.8	94.6	99.8	99.8	93.6	99.9	83.2	97.2
109	1-C	42.7	0.0	20.0	65.7	0.0	3.7	59.3	5.8	19.2	86.5	5.4	100.0	100.0	91.1	33.7	49.4
61	1-D	51.9	1.3	24.3	57.0	1.8	18.8	70.9	3.5	15.6	85.0	81.8	91.1	98.9	92.7	55.1	80.6
29	1-E	60.8	2.9	51.7	93.8	0.0	8.8	79.3	0.0	0.0	87.5	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.7	99.9
34	1-F	58.4	15.9	57.5	87.3	0.9	7.3	29.9	6.5	18.8	84.1	93.9	94.3	99.7	95.1	88.2	96.6
62	1-G	51.6	2.5	27.5	60.0	4.8	23.8	71.4	4.7	13.1	72.0	69.9	85.7	97.8	84.7	65.8	90.0
66	2-A	50.7	1.9	22.7	52.7	1.8	19.6	70.5	4.5	11.1	78.6	79.1	82.2	100.0	96.5	56.0	83.2
63	2-B	51.3	1.0	19.4	52.7	3.4	17.1	74.0	2.6	11.4	87.3	82.9	88.0	100.0	91.1	55.9	82.0
64	3-A	51.3	2.7	21.4	50.2	4.1	21.2	74.0	6.1	12.8	84.3	80.3	84.1	99.9	90.7	53.7	84.2
60	3-B	52.0	0.5	22.5	57.4	2.5	16.8	71.8	4.4	12.2	86.4	83.2	84.9	99.9	96.5	54.8	85.7
70	3-C	48.9	1.2	17.5	45.3	3.0	14.8	70.9	3.7	10.6	81.8	77.0	79.1	99.7	94.5	54.7	80.2
65	3-D	50.8	3.6	21.2	52.2	4.0	23.0	63.0	4.9	20.9	79.6	75.3	84.4	99.3	92.8	53.9	83.3
67	4	50.6	1.9	22.7	51.2	3.4	19.2	76.5	3.0	13.3	90.4	65.2	69.0	99.9	96.9	60.6	85.2
125	5	39.7	1.1	16.4	42.5	0.3	9.9	58.0	2.3	12.6	78.9	32.2	39.2	99.2	76.4	53.3	73.6
39	6-A	57.4	6.0	34.5	64.5	3.7	35.0	80.0	9.2	22.3	92.1	83.2	84.6	99.5	95.4	62.9	88.1
78	6-B	47.9	3.7	21.2	49.5	1.1	14.7	62.6	5.3	13.9	81.1	65.9	69.0	99.8	91.0	57.1	82.5
111	7	42.6	1.6	18.7	45.4	0.4	9.4	61.7	3.4	10.7	81.1	46.3	53.2	99.5	80.2	51.9	76.0
121	8	40.8	0.9	11.0	37.8	1.2	6.6	52.9	2.6	10.4	78.9	47.1	56.8	99.8	70.6	56.4	78.5
131	9	35.8	0.4	12.7	35.0	0.3	7.9	44.0	2.6	11.6	77.0	30.3	19.9	99.5	61.1	60.5	73.9
54	10-A	53.0	1.3	26.4	60.8	3.1	24.1	71.6	7.1	18.2	89.9	77.6	80.4	100.0	95.8	56.8	81.2
55	10-B	52.7	2.8	30.3	56.9	2.9	17.6	59.0	9.1	21.3	89.6	73.5	85.3	100.0	92.7	63.2	86.5
15	11-A	64.8	12.8	50.9	78.0	7.8	30.6	71.5	16.5	40.5	95.8	98.2	98.4	99.7	99.2	77.2	94.3
26	11-B	61.5	8.3	43.4	71.7	7.1	32.1	75.0	12.4	31.8	89.5	93.5	95.1	100.0	99.0	73.5	90.1
86	12	46.8	4.6	23.3	58.9	0.6	10.2	52.4	6.3	15.7	85.8	53.9	67.9	99.7	82.0	60.8	80.5
114	13	41.7	1.1	20.7	48.5	2.0	11.8	57.7	3.9	13.5	81.1	38.1	44.7	99.7	69.9	56.8	76.6
115	14	41.7	1.0	15.0	47.9	1.4	20.2	72.3	2.9	10.2	77.1	30.6	35.7	99.6	91.9	48.9	71.4
46	15	55.0	6.7	34.9	67.9	3.0	15.2	62.5	8.5	18.2	92.6	78.3	87.5	99.8	92.5	69.1	88.4
45	16-A	55.1	3.9	30.7	61.3	6.0	22.6	64.6	7.7	20.1	90.8	81.3	84.5	100.0	96.1	67.2	89.2
42	16-B	56.4	2.7	26.8	58.2	2.4	32.9	76.6	7.3	17.9	88.8	92.9	96.5	99.6	95.9	60.6	86.5

TABLE 2 (Continued)
FIFTEEN COMPONENTS OF INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES), 140 CENSUS TRACTS, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

Rank of Census Tract	Census Tract	SES Index (mean %)	Percent Age 25 & Over Who Graduated From			Percent of Families & Unrelated Individuals With Incomes Over			Percent Employed Civilian Males Who Are			Percent of Household With				Percent Homes Persons/Room	
			College	High School	8th Grade	$10,000	$5000	$2000	Professional	Profes. Mgrial.	Not Laborer	Privt. Bath	Run. Water	Electric	Mech. Refrig.	Under 1.00	Under 1.50
City of Honolulu (Continued)																	
8	17	67.1	18.6	53.3	79.7	20.6	43.3	70.6	20.2	44.2	91.4	94.2	95.6	99.7	97.5	83.0	94.6
32	18-A	58.7	5.5	37.1	75.3	4.3	24.2	70.4	8.8	26.8	93.1	88.8	96.0	100.0	97.4	65.3	88.0
51	18-B	54.1	2.3	33.3	63.4	3.2	22.5	70.4	5.3	17.4	91.4	75.4	86.2	100.0	95.5	57.5	87.7
36	18-C	57.7	10.6	44.2	77.9	1.5	16.7	63.6	13.4	26.1	89.5	80.8	80.8	100.0	99.3	71.2	90.3
27	19	61.5	10.4	50.9	78.0	3.6	26.2	73.5	13.8	26.4	93.1	90.1	95.2	100.0	94.1	75.5	92.0
16	20	64.8	14.4	55.7	81.2	8.9	33.4	71.7	16.5	37.7	94.9	92.3	94.5	99.3	96.1	82.7	93.4
6	21-A	68.6	30.6	60.4	74.6	25.3	44.0	80.2	21.2	46.5	83.2	95.3	96.6	97.9	94.9	84.7	94.0
2	21-B	73.1	32.9	74.9	93.0	18.1	49.0	72.7	27.3	57.2	94.9	96.4	97.3	100.0	95.7	90.7	96.8
58	21-C	52.2	3.0	31.1	72.2	2.3	13.1	77.8	4.9	9.6	89.6	97.3	97.7	100.0	95.7	25.4	63.7
12	21-D	66.0	13.8	50.8	76.0	14.1	50.0	81.0	19.4	43.1	92.5	90.7	92.3	98.6	96.5	78.2	92.6
14	22-A	65.5	17.1	68.2	89.3	3.2	25.3	74.7	21.3	38.9	95.4	90.2	93.8	99.3	94.1	80.5	90.5
3	22-B	71.6	22.9	71.6	91.0	7.4	40.1	83.2	22.9	49.0	98.7	99.0	99.7	100.0	99.1	92.9	96.1
13	22-C	65.8	15.2	66.1	90.4	4.0	22.3	70.8	16.7	33.9	97.3	96.4	98.2	99.9	96.7	86.2	93.0
40	23-A	56.9	3.5	33.7	69.3	5.6	31.1	81.2	6.1	20.8	92.3	78.0	83.4	99.9	97.1	63.5	88.0
21	23-B	62.5	10.8	45.5	74.7	3.4	34.2	86.3	10.3	26.2	94.7	96.2	97.8	100.0	99.0	68.1	90.4
43	24-A	56.3	6.5	37.5	67.3	5.0	28.2	71.8	8.5	20.7	89.6	76.3	87.9	99.7	93.7	65.5	86.1
9	24-B	66.9	21.8	62.1	81.3	8.0	32.9	67.4	25.3	43.6	95.5	95.5	96.4	100.0	97.7	82.5	94.2
38	25-A	57.5	3.2	30.2	64.3	3.8	30.9	82.3	7.0	17.7	91.7	92.4	95.0	99.9	96.3	61.1	87.1
41	25-B	56.8	4.2	35.0	68.1	3.1	22.9	82.1	7.2	16.5	91.8	87.2	89.0	100.0	97.7	62.6	84.4
4	25-C	71.1	24.6	73.0	89.1	21.1	44.7	76.3	20.9	52.9	93.5	97.4	99.0	99.9	94.3	85.6	94.8
24	26-A	61.9	7.1	43.9	74.8	7.9	38.1	77.6	11.9	25.4	93.7	92.2	94.1	99.9	98.0	72.1	92.4
19	26-B	63.7	10.1	44.9	77.4	7.5	33.8	85.0	12.3	29.2	96.5	98.1	98.7	100.0	98.7	71.6	92.4
20	27	62.7	9.2	44.1	71.8	5.0	36.2	80.9	12.0	28.1	93.8	96.6	98.6	99.9	98.1	74.3	92.3
10	28-A	66.8	15.1	50.3	79.2	7.7	41.5	73.8	18.9	38.2	98.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.7	83.5	95.4
30	28-B	59.8	5.5	36.7	69.6	4.9	28.1	82.3	10.1	22.5	92.4	94.0	95.1	99.8	98.7	65.8	90.9
7	28-C	67.9	17.0	56.5	81.8	12.2	48.8	83.9	16.9	37.0	95.3	98.1	98.7	99.9	98.8	79.8	94.4
53	28-D	53.1	1.1	37.7	60.6	18.3	18.8	70.2	4.3	12.9	85.2	94.0	96.4	99.6	94.1	39.5	63.3
11	29-A	66.2	22.4	59.0	78.5	24.1	50.3	79.0	17.3	47.4	84.6	80.0	85.2	100.0	96.9	78.1	89.6
71	29-B	48.6	2.7	23.8	54.4	7.0	28.0	70.0	3.7	26.6	80.6	54.1	58.2	99.9	96.7	46.0	76.6
1	29-C	76.3	24.0	77.1	92.2	24.0	72.0	88.0	25.9	57.6	96.0	99.4	99.4	100.0	99.0	93.5	95.9
31	29-D	59.6	8.5	39.2	75.1	6.2	28.6	70.0	8.2	37.0	75.6	94.4	97.3	99.0	97.1	69.9	87.7

TABLE 2 (Continued)
FIFTEEN COMPONENTS OF INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES), 140 CENSUS TRACTS, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

Rank of Census Tract	Census Tract	SES Index (mean %)	Percent Age 25 & Over Who Graduated From			Percent of Families & Unrelated Individuals With Incomes Over			Percent Employed Civilian Males Who Are			Percent of Household With				Percent Homes Persons/Room	
			College	High School	8th Grade	$10,000	$5000	$2000	Professional	Profes. Mgrial.	Not Laborer	Privt. Bath	Run. Water	Electric	Mech. Refrig.	Under 1.00	Under 1.50
Balance of Honolulu County																	
5	30-A	69.2	19.7	67.6	87.6	11.1	42.2	78.3	20.5	43.7	94.4	97.5	98.4	100.0	98.7	82.8	95.9
22	30-B	62.5	6.8	46.9	75.1	3.7	37.4	86.0	12.2	25.7	90.9	95.5	97.4	99.6	98.4	71.1	91.0
75	30-C	48.5	3.3	20.4	46.7	3.6	21.4	63.1	4.1	30.5	70.6	64.3	80.7	92.8	83.5	59.4	83.4
48	31-A	54.6	6.0	33.9	64.5	6.9	26.2	69.8	8.0	28.1	79.5	77.3	84.1	97.5	92.1	61.7	83.3
119	31-B	41.5	2.7	12.5	32.3	2.2	13.2	49.3	4.1	32.5	67.8	42.9	74.0	82.8	70.1	57.6	78.0
83	32	47.4	3.8	20.4	53.6	0.8	12.1	49.2	5.5	23.4	71.1	69.3	81.8	96.0	79.5	63.6	80.6
84	33	47.3	3.6	19.3	42.6	0.0	13.2	70.2	8.5	19.2	63.1	58.9	80.2	96.5	74.5	70.8	89.1
106	34	43.2	1.3	18.5	40.3	3.4	11.7	66.5	2.5	10.1	51.5	28.9	92.7	98.8	70.3	66.5	85.5
73	35	48.5	5.6	23.6	47.9	2.8	19.1	72.4	5.0	15.2	69.7	56.1	78.5	95.4	79.8	67.9	87.9
56	36-A	52.7	4.6	26.7	53.8	3.6	18.9	66.4	5.7	22.3	86.7	72.0	89.4	99.3	83.4	69.7	88.6
28	36-B	61.5	6.3	40.6	71.0	4.7	34.1	81.8	9.5	27.0	92.9	94.0	94.9	99.8	97.2	74.8	93.5
120	36-C	41.5	0.0	21.0	40.6	0.0	7.9	49.6	1.0	1.7	32.7	62.6	87.9	87.9	82.3	61.6	85.6
25	37	61.7	7.9	55.9	87.4	0.0	3.5	29.9	23.9	31.0	95.8	99.2	99.2	100.0	99.9	92.7	99.2
90	38	45.6	1.8	16.7	50.9	0.6	9.0	51.8	2.7	17.7	71.9	67.0	86.4	93.9	83.0	55.3	75.8
74	39	48.5	3.9	28.3	60.1	0.8	12.2	59.1	3.5	9.2	58.0	62.8	81.4	98.6	87.2	71.4	90.6
81	40-A	47.5	2.0	18.0	47.7	4.8	27.2	78.9	3.3	5.4	73.5	40.3	74.8	99.6	85.7	63.1	88.1
117	40-B	41.6	3.2	13.9	37.9	2.2	13.4	58.9	3.3	14.7	80.0	31.5	62.3	98.5	74.9	52.4	77.0
122	40-C	40.7	1.0	12.0	33.0	0.0	13.7	69.2	1.9	11.5	46.0	28.4	88.8	92.0	62.5	66.9	84.2
49	41	54.5	3.6	27.7	59.8	2.9	19.0	78.5	5.5	18.3	84.1	81.8	88.2	99.2	93.7	64.4	90.2
68	42-A	49.8	6.4	23.7	52.8	5.9	28.6	70.9	7.9	15.8	74.9	51.3	80.4	99.9	80.2	65.0	83.6
52	42-B	53.8	1.7	22.9	71.6	0.0	4.2	80.3	2.8	5.1	88.6	97.0	97.0	100.0	93.6	54.9	87.8
23	42-C	62.1	9.8	72.8	94.5	0.7	10.9	39.7	0.0	18.2	90.9	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.7	95.1	99.7
33	42-D	58.7	19.4	64.3	92.9	0.6	11.2	35.1	2.8	11.2	71.2	93.7	96.1	99.3	95.1	89.8	98.3
Hawaii County																	
136	H- 1	29.6	3.3	14.7	39.1	0.0	5.6	31.1	2.2	25.8	47.9	1.4	44.1	42.2	31.2	70.4	84.3
104	H- 2	43.4	2.2	17.1	40.6	1.1	15.3	67.2	2.2	15.1	57.6	35.5	80.3	94.2	62.4	69.7	90.1
59	H- 3	52.2	6.2	27.1	56.4	2.9	20.2	69.9	6.7	18.4	77.8	86.5	92.2	98.1	79.1	59.2	82.4
57	H- 4-A	52.3	2.3	23.8	53.3	3.9	17.5	64.0	6.2	20.1	84.0	81.4	84.8	99.8	84.7	68.2	90.0
44	H- 4-B	55.5	3.0	26.7	55.8	5.4	26.8	77.6	6.6	22.6	86.6	87.4	94.9	99.7	84.9	65.7	88.5

TABLE 2 (Continued)
FIFTEEN COMPONENTS OF INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES), 140 CENSUS TRACTS, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

Rank of Census Tract	Census Tract	SES Index (mean %)	Percent Age & Over Who Graduated From			Percent of Families & Unrelated Individuals With Incomes Over			Percent Employed Civilian Males Who Are			Percent of Household With				Percent Homes Persons/Room	
			College	High School	8th Grade	$10,000	$5000	$2000	Professional	Profes. Mgrial.	Not Laborer	Privt. Bath	Run. Water	Electric	Mech. Refrig.	Under 1.00	Under 1.50
Hawaii County (Continued)																	
37	H- 5	57.6	7.1	37.5	63.5	6.0	25.5	68.8	11.6	28.1	84.2	83.4	95.0	99.4	87.7	74.8	91.6
76	H- 6	48.4	3.0	22.5	49.5	2.5	13.8	62.2	4.2	16.3	67.6	58.0	93.6	96.8	79.7	67.4	89.4
107	H- 7	43.1	1.7	10.4	39.5	1.5	13.2	58.6	3.6	9.4	53.7	35.5	90.7	97.7	70.6	70.6	90.5
108	H- 8	42.8	1.3	18.1	47.0	0.0	3.3	51.1	2.7	9.4	55.9	44.3	98.5	97.9	85.1	54.4	73.1
130	H- 9	36.1	0.0	3.7	22.9	0.0	7.1	44.3	0.3	3.3	28.0	17.8	92.5	91.8	61.9	77.2	91.3
116	H-10	41.7	3.3	17.4	32.1	0.0	8.0	59.8	2.4	6.1	47.2	55.1	70.8	99.4	52.4	79.3	92.7
105	H-11	43.4	4.3	18.8	33.3	3.9	15.7	56.9	3.4	5.7	48.7	37.7	96.6	94.3	57.9	79.8	93.9
124	H-12	40.3	1.0	11.1	31.6	0.0	7.1	55.4	2.3	10.7	49.6	33.7	75.7	94.9	59.1	79.8	92.2
99	H-13	44.5	2.6	16.0	38.6	2.1	11.2	55.1	3.6	13.1	63.8	56.9	81.1	87.5	68.8	75.4	92.1
113	H-14	42.2	1.8	12.1	32.4	1.6	12.9	62.2	4.5	10.8	60.7	32.8	84.3	89.2	64.7	71.9	90.5
134	H-15	33.0	5.3	10.5	26.3	0.0	0.0	14.3	1.2	9.4	38.8	34.9	79.5	59.8	47.8	76.1	91.0
110	H-16	42.7	3.1	18.5	43.8	2.3	11.6	55.8	6.2	20.6	43.3	47.9	90.7	71.8	65.7	69.5	89.4
137	H-17	27.2	0.0	9.5	42.9	0.0	0.0	28.6	0.0	14.8	42.6	12.0	63.9	22.9	36.5	60.0	73.8
132	H-18	35.4	1.3	14.0	35.7	2.5	7.0	33.7	3.4	37.1	60.9	14.0	63.4	61.6	45.0	66.7	84.7
129	H-19	36.2	2.7	16.8	34.2	1.1	9.0	36.7	3.3	49.7	68.0	10.1	65.9	54.6	50.4	60.5	80.2
139	H-20	24.1	0.0	12.5	39.6	2.6	5.1	23.1	1.4	20.9	33.8	8.5	33.2	27.5	21.1	58.9	73.0
102	H-21	43.5	3.4	12.2	42.6	1.9	10.2	64.8	4.5	13.2	64.6	66.2	80.9	75.0	65.8	63.1	84.6
101	H-22	44.0	4.6	16.9	37.5	1.0	4.1	53.6	3.5	8.4	58.3	48.4	87.0	92.7	64.9	83.8	96.0
Kauai County																	
140	K- 1	12.6	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	12.5	2.2	4.3	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.1	53.1	87.5
85	K- 2	47.2	2.0	15.9	37.0	3.5	17.6	81.7	5.3	10.1	60.0	43.9	93.9	99.1	70.0	76.7	91.4
89	K- 3	45.8	1.9	15.2	41.3	0.5	10.1	57.1	3.4	9.4	54.0	60.2	87.6	98.1	77.5	78.1	93.2
97	K- 4	44.7	3.5	19.1	47.5	3.8	11.5	50.0	4.2	19.5	73.1	40.7	70.8	95.3	74.2	70.1	87.5
100	K- 5	44.3	1.1	12.2	37.2	1.0	3.4	70.0	3.3	10.2	60.0	44.0	93.5	98.5	60.5	75.3	95.0
82	K- 6	47.5	4.9	22.1	47.4	2.2	14.9	65.7	5.5	14.2	60.6	47.8	79.6	99.0	73.8	80.9	93.8
103	K- 7	43.5	2.3	15.3	40.7	3.1	11.5	66.7	5.1	10.6	64.9	26.5	72.2	97.4	71.1	71.6	93.0
79	K- 8	47.7	5.3	21.5	47.1	3.1	16.8	72.4	4.8	9.9	65.5	47.0	73.8	98.8	82.7	73.9	92.7
87	K- 9	46.6	3.1	21.9	42.2	1.6	9.7	56.5	4.0	20.2	55.4	51.4	92.6	98.3	70.6	77.6	93.9
88	K-10	46.5	4.0	21.9	49.4	2.1	14.8	57.7	6.3	18.9	77.5	43.2	78.9	91.0	73.1	69.9	89.2
133	K-11	35.3	0.6	12.5	27.5	0.0	8.4	57.9	0.8	6.1	46.5	19.7	50.8	80.6	47.9	77.3	93.5
126	K-12	38.0	2.2	10.9	29.3	0.0	5.7	47.2	2.8	5.0	43.5	33.5	63.2	91.2	61.9	78.8	94.8
128	K-13	37.3	0.0	10.3	35.9	2.2	15.6	48.9	3.2	28.9	51.6	37.6	62.0	57.6	54.7	67.2	83.1

TABLE 2 (Continued)
FIFTEEN COMPONENTS OF INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES), 140 CENSUS TRACTS, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

Rank of Census Tract	Census Tract	SES Index (mean %)	Percent Age 25 & Over Who Graduated From			Percent of Families & Unrelated Individuals With Incomes Over			Percent Employed Civilian Males Who Are			Percent of Household With				Percent Homes Persons/Room	
			College	High School	8th Grade	$10,000	$5000	$2000	Professional	Profes. Mgrial.	Not Laborer	Privt. Bath	Run. Water	Electric	Mech. Refrig.	Under 1.00	Under 1.50
Maui County																	
123	M- 1	40.5	0.0	0.0	45.0	0.0	18.2	54.5	1.8	37.5	62.5	27.8	79.7	90.2	56.6	59.7	74.2
127	M- 2	37.8	3.5	14.1	47.1	1.8	14.5	36.4	5.9	19.4	59.1	42.5	60.2	63.3	49.8	64.6	84.3
138	M- 3	24.8	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	14.3	28.6	0.0	13.5	32.4	18.2	34.5	25.5	32.4	67.6	79.4
77	M- 4	48.0	5.1	18.4	50.0	3.0	15.8	64.7	4.7	25.3	61.8	52.2	87.1	91.2	76.7	71.6	91.8
80	M- 5	47.6	2.7	14.7	42.5	0.9	12.6	70.9	4.7	10.0	60.4	45.9	92.0	98.9	84.5	78.4	94.4
98	M- 6	44.7	2.0	15.6	43.4	0.0	10.0	55.5	4.1	19.7	67.1	47.7	73.1	91.4	75.3	72.6	92.5
47	M- 7	54.8	12.3	34.0	59.4	6.9	27.6	70.7	7.9	23.4	90.1	52.6	89.6	98.9	89.9	69.8	88.8
91	M- 8	45.5	3.6	17.1	40.5	1.4	13.4	77.5	4.6	7.5	48.2	36.8	92.8	99.7	76.2	73.3	90.2
69	M- 9-A	49.3	3.7	19.2	46.9	1.3	18.6	75.7	4.8	10.1	70.1	43.8	98.4	99.9	85.1	69.8	91.7
93	M- 9-B	45.3	4.3	19.8	43.1	1.3	13.0	66.2	4.2	12.9	48.3	56.4	89.5	96.2	73.3	66.7	85.0
72	M-10	48.6	3.4	23.0	57.3	5.5	15.4	72.5	3.0	13.6	73.0	33.3	90.7	100.0	87.6	63.6	87.5
50	M-11	54.2	5.9	29.3	60.1	4.1	18.9	62.7	8.6	25.9	87.4	70.3	92.6	99.1	88.6	70.2	89.6
96	M-12	44.8	7.6	19.7	39.4	2.4	11.9	50.0	3.5	16.5	53.8	40.1	83.9	97.4	71.4	81.0	93.2
118	M-13	41.6	1.4	14.3	46.9	1.3	7.6	63.3	2.0	7.9	57.4	38.3	70.7	88.7	72.4	66.4	85.5
112	M-14	42.3	5.8	13.0	33.3	2.1	10.4	66.7	4.2	8.3	40.3	36.7	87.0	90.4	71.8	72.8	92.0
94	M-15	45.3	3.8	17.0	50.7	1.4	11.1	73.9	4.8	10.2	60.4	29.3	86.4	97.7	77.6	67.8	87.4
92	M-16	45.5	2.9	12.2	37.4	1.2	10.5	86.4	3.1	6.4	49.3	59.8	98.3	97.2	55.0	71.6	91.4
95	M-17	45.0	3.9	15.0	39.3	1.1	10.6	75.5	3.8	9.9	44.2	76.2	86.2	90.9	67.7	65.2	85.4
135	M-18	32.5	0.0	11.1	37.8	0.0	6.6	36.1	5.8	29.5	58.1	33.1	66.6	30.4	43.8	55.3	73.1
35	M-19	57.9	18.2	36.4	63.6	0.0	0.0	100.0	4.3	12.8	78.7	76.9	76.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. III; Census Tract Statistics, Chapter 62, "Honolulu, T.H." Washington, D.C., 1952.

Note: The Index of Socio-Economic Status (SES) is the arithmetic mean of 15 percentages: (1) Percent of persons 25 years old and over who have completed four years or more of college; (2) percent who have completed high school or more; (3) percent who have completed eighth grade or more; (4) percent of families and unrelated individuals who had 1949 incomes of $10,000 or more; (5) of $5,000 or more; (6) of $2,000 or more; (7) percent of gainfully employed civilian males who are employed as professional, technical, and kindred workers; (8) as professional, technical, and kindred workers, or as managers, officials, and proprietors; (9) as other than laborers; (10) percent of dwelling units with private bath and not in dilapidated condition; (11) percent of dwelling units with running water in the house and not in dilapidated condition; (12) percent of dwelling units with electricity; (13) percent of dwelling units with mechanical refrigeration; (14) percent of dwelling units with 1.00 person or less per room; (15) with 1.50 persons or less per room.

A CENTURY OF HAWAIIAN OUT-MIGRATION

Robert C. Schmitt

There are more than 50,000 Hawaii-born persons living on the Mainland--a number greater than the entire Island-born population of the Islands of Maui and Kauai, and eighty-eight times as many as were counted on the Mainland a century ago. The facts about these kamaainas on the Mainland are in many ways as significant and interesting as information about their opposites, the malihinis, who have moved from the Mainland to the Islands. Most attention has been paid to the in-migrant, however, and very little to the person leaving the Territory. What do we know about our former residents--Hawaii's out-migrants? The present paper attempts to answer this in statistical terms.

Perhaps most significant of the available facts is the accelerating tempor of out-migration. The earliest statistics bearing on this problem are given in the 1850 U.S. Census. At that time, there were 82,574 Hawaii-born persons living in the Kingdom, compared to 588 residing in the continental United States. It thus appears that less than one percent of the number of Hawaii-born persons enumerated either in the Islands or on the Mainland lived outside Hawaii. Fifty years later, in 1900 Hawaii-born Mainlanders numbered 1,307, or 2.2 per cent of the total living either in the Islands or mainland United States. Soon thereafter out-migration began in earnest, and by 1950, most recent year available, Mainland residents born in the Territory numbered 51,955, more than one-eighth of the total Hawaii-born population. Decennial totals are given in Table 1.

Despite this increase in out-migration, the population of Hawaii continues to show a net gain from long-term migratory movements. As early as 1850, Hawaii residents born elsewhere outnumbered Mainland residents born in the Islands by more than 1,000. This excess of in-migrants over out-migrants increased until 1930, when the U.S. Census reported fully 134,362 more persons in Hawaii born elsewhere than Hawaii-born Mainland residents.[1] This figure was an all-time high, and the Territory net gain from migration as of the most recent Federal census stood at 92,265. It should be emphasized that this net gain derives from the big surplus built up in the early years of the century, and fails to reflect the actual balance or amount for any given set of years. In recent decades, as noted in a later paragraph, out-migrants have surpassed in-migrants. Detailed statistics on long-term trends in net migratory gain are given in Table 1.

Hawaii-born Mainlanders have always concentrated in California. This state has consistently led all others in number of Island-born residents, beginning in 1850. The total Hawaii-born population of California has increased with every census since 1860, although its percentage of the Mainland total has fluctuated a good deal (from 25.7 in 1880 to 85.3 in 1910.) None of the second-ranking states -- Massachusetts in 1850, 1860, and 1880, Washington in 1870, 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930, Utah in 1890, and New York in 1940 and 1950 -- has been able to pose a serious challenge to

1 For a discussion of the limitations of place-of birth data for indicating migratory trends, see the U.S. Census of Population: 1950, State of Birth, Special Report P-E No. 4A, pp. 4-5.

TABLE 1
POPULATION BORN OR RESIDING IN HAWAII,
BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE: 1850 to 1950

YEAR	BORN IN HAWAII[1] TOTAL	Residing in Hawaii	Residing in Continental U.S. No.	%	Born elsewhere, residing in Hawaii	Net gain from migration
1850	83,162	82,574	588	0.7	1,591	1,003
1860	67,519	67,084	435	0.6	2,716	2,281
1870	55,092	54,508	584	1.1	4,409	3,825
1880	48,874	47,727	1,147	2.3	17,789	16,642
1890	49,421	48,117	1,304	2.6	41,873	40,569
1900	60,238	58,931	1,307	2.2	95,070	93,763
1910	90,224	86,483	3,741	4.1	105,426	101,685
1920	146,900	136,349	10,551	7.2	119,563	109,012
1930	233,974	214,517	19,457	8.3	153,819	134,362
1940[2]	302,229	278,506	23,723	7.8	144,824	121,101
1950[3]	407,529	355,574	51,955	12.7	144,220	92,265

1 Excludes Hawaii-born persons living in other U.S. territories and possessions or in foreign countries. In 1900, there were at least ten such persons (one in Alaska and nine abroad with the armed forces). In 1950, there were 206 Hawaii-born persons in Alaska, 314 in Guam, and an unreported number in other territories and possessions and in foreign countries.

2 Includes 560 persons on minor Pacific islands included with Hawaii for Census purposes.

3 Data for 1950 not quite comparable with earlier years, because of allocation of college students to place of parents' residence for 1940 and previous years.

Sources: Censuses of the Hawaiian Government, 1849, 1850, 1853, 1860, 1866, 1872, 1878, 1884, and 1890; 1850 U.S. Census, p. xxxvi; 1860 U.S. Census, Population, p. 623; 1870 U.S. Census, Population, Vol. I, p. 342; 1880 U.S. Census, Population, p. 495; 1890 U.S. Census, Population, Part I, p. 609; 1900 U.S. Census, Abstract of the Census, p. 54; 1910 U.S. Census, Abstract of the Census, p. 185; 1920 U.S. Census, Vol. II, Population, p. 630; 1930 U.S. Census, Population, Vol. II, p. 157; 1940 U.S. Census, Special Reports, State of Birth of the Native Population, p. 19; 1950 U.S. Census of Population, General Characteristics, Hawaii, Bulletin P-B52, p. 18, and State of Birth, Special Report P-E No. 4A, p. 23. Place of birth of Hawaii residents in 1850 estimated from percentage distributions for 1849 and 1853 (by linear interpolation) and enumerated total population in 1850. Place of birth of Hawaii residents in 1870 and 1880 estimated by linear interpolation from figures for 1866, 1872, 1878, and 1884.

California. Some idea of the latter's popularity with Islanders can be gained from a ranking of the 1950 data:[2]

1. California - 28,330	3. Illinois - 1,950	5. Texas - 1,300
2. New York - 2,490	4. Washington - 1,845	6. New Jersey - 1,110

Regional total are presented in Table 2.

2 Ibid., p. 23

TABLE 2
HAWAII-BORN PERSONS RESIDING IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS, DIVISIONS, OR STATES: 1850 to 1950

YEAR	Continental United States	North-east	North Central	South	WEST			
					Mountain	PACIFIC		
						Washington	Oregon	California
NUMBER								
1850	588	193	14	12	--	--	50	319
1860	435	195	18	6	2	20	56	138
1870	584	130	46	11	41	63	14	279
1880	1,147	302	286	127	58	63	16	295
1890	1,304	186	81	33	169	129	32	674
1900	1,307	105	56	27	117	124	38	840
1910	3,741	117	76	28	105	142	82	3,191
1920	10,551	626	420	360	270	464	129	8,282
1930	19,457	1,148	840	792	394	590	189	15,504
1940	23,723	1,791	1,015	1,576	441	777	255	17,868
1950	51,955	5,915	6,215	7,025	1,870	1,845	755	28,330
PERCENT[1]								
1850	100.0	32.8	2.4	2.0	--	--	8.5	54.3
1860	100.0	44.8	4.1	1.4	0.5	4.6	12.9	31.7
1870	100.0	22.3	7.9	1.9	7.0	10.8	2.4	47.8
1880	100.0	26.3	24.9	11.1	5.1	5.5	1.4	25.7
1890	100.0	14.3	6.2	2.5	13.0	9.9	2.5	51.7
1900	100.0	8.0	4.3	2.1	9.0	9.5	2.9	64.3
1910	100.0	3.1	2.0	0.7	2.8	3.8	2.2	85.3
1920	100.0	5.9	4.0	3.4	2.6	4.4	1.2	78.5
1930	100.0	5.9	4.3	4.1	2.0	3.0	1.0	79.7
1940	100.0	7.5	4.3	6.6	1.9	3.3	1.1	75.3
1950	100.0	11.4	12.0	13.5	3.6	3.6	1.5	54.5

[1] Because of independent rounding, may not add exactly to indicated totals.

Sources: U.S. Census reports, as follows: 1850, p. xxxvi; 1860, Population, p. 623; 1870, Population, Vol. I, p. 342; 1880, Population, p. 495; 1890, Population, Part I, p. 609; 1900 Abstract of the Census, p. 54; 1910, Abstract of the Census, p. 185; 1920; Vol. II, Population, p. 630; 1930, Population, Vol. II, p. 157; 1940, Special Reports, State of Birth of the Native Population, p. 19; 1950, State of Birth, Special Report P-E No. 4A, p. 23.

Racial data, available since 1870, indicate that Haoles (whites) have consistently outnumbered other ethnic groups among the Hawaii-born Mainland residents. As recently as 1900, the various non-white groups -- Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Negro, and others -- accounted for only 3.9 percent of all Island-born Mainlanders, and since 1930 their share has been close to between twenty-one and twenty-two percent. Inasmuch as non-white births have always outnumbered Haole births in the Territory (the latter group accounted for 22.9 percent of the total in 1954, for example,) it appears that long-term out-migration is disproportionately low for the non-whites. Unfortunately, data are not available for specific non-white stocks, Statistics for the period of record are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3
RACE OF HAWAII-BORN PERSONS RESIDING IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, BY SEX: 1870 TO 1950

SEX AND YEAR[1]	ALL RACES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	
			NUMBER	PERCENT
BOTH SEXES				
1870	584	539	45	7.7
1900	1,307	1,256	51	3.9
1910	3,741	3,416	325	8.7
1920	10,551	9,351	1,200	11.4
1930	19,457	15,349	4,108	21.1
1940	23,723	18,610	5,113	21.6
1950	51,955	40,795	11,160	21.5
MALES				
1940	12,692	9,406	3,286	25.9
1950	28,145	21,270	6,875	24.4
FEMALES				
1940	11,031	9,204	1,827	16.6
1950	23,810	19,525	4,285	18.0

[1] Data available only for years given.

Sources: U.S. Census reports, as follows: 1870, Population, Vol. I, p. 342; 1900, Vol. I, Population, Part I, p. 690; 1910, Vol. I, Population, General Report and Analysis, p. 739; 1920, Vol. II, Population, p. 635; 1930, Population, Vol. II, p. 162; 1940, Special Reports, State of Birth of the Native Population, pp. 24, 29, 34, and 39; 1950; State of Birth, Special Report P-E No. 4A, pp. 87, 94, 101, and 108.

With respect to the sex of Islanders on the Mainland, men outnumbered women in both of the census years for which data are available. In 1940 there were 115 males per 100 females among the Hawaii-born Mainland residents, and the ratio increased to 118 by 1950. This surplus of males was in direct contrast to the situation among the Island-born still living in Hawaii in 1950, where locally born females held a slight majority over males.[3] There is little doubt, therefore, that the above sex differentials represent a real difference in long-term migration rates. The predominance of males was especially great among the non-white Islanders on the Mainland, as shown by the following sex ratios (males per 100 females, computed from Table 3).

	Whites	Non-whites
1940	102	180
1950	109	160

[3] U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Detailed Characteristics, Hawaii, Bulletin P-C52, Table 33.

Both sex and race seem to have an effect on geographic preference. Data for 1950 reveal that a greater percentage of all Hawaii-born Mainland women than men lived in the three Pacific States, and a greater percentage of whites than non-whites. Data are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4
DIVISION OF RESIDENCE OF HAWAII-BORN PERSONS RESIDING IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES IN 1950 BY RACE AND SEX

DIVISION OF RESIDENCE	ALL PERSONS	SEX		RACE	
		MALE	FEMALE	WHITE	NON-WHITE
Cont. U.S.	51,955	28,145	23,810	40,795	11,160
Pacific States	30,930	16,005	14,925	24,465	6,465
Other States	21,025	12,140	8,885	16,330	4,695
% in Pacific States	59.5	56.9	62.7	60.0	57.9

Source: 1950 U.S. Census of Population, State of Birth, Special Report P-E No. 4A, pp. 80, 87, 94, 101, and 108.

Data for 1950 (only year available) likewise reveal the Hawaii-born Mainlanders to be relatively young. Median age of these out-migrants was 26.5, not much greater than that of Islanders still living in Hawaii. (Exact figures for the non-migrant Island-born are not available, but the 1950 Census reported that the median age of all native born residents of the Territory, including persons born in the continental United States, was 21.3 years.)[4] Persons in their twenties outnumbered those in any other ten-year age group, partly as a result of Selective Service inductions and partly because of attendance at Mainland colleges and universities. (Exact data on the number of Islanders serving in the U.S. armed forces on April 1, 1950 are not available, but the Territorial Department of Public Welfare has unofficially estimated that about 2,000 graduates of Island high schools were in Mainland schools at that time. In earlier censuses, these students would have been counted at their parent's residences, that is in Hawaii, but this practice was abandoned for the 1950 enumeration.)

Age distributions differed by area, sex, and race. Median age of Hawaii-born residents of the Pacific States in 1950 was 31.9 years, compared to only 21.3 years for Islanders living elsewhere on the Mainland. Males were younger than females (25.6 to 27.6) possibly because of the influence of Selective Service. With respect to ethnic group, whites were younger (median age, 25.4 years) than non-whites (at 28.6). Complete information appears in Table 5.

[4] Ibid., Table 29.

TABLE 5
AGE OF HAWAII BORN PERSONS RESIDING IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES BY DIVISION OF RESIDENCE, SEX, AND RACE: 1950

YEARS OF AGE	ALL PERSONS	DIVISION OF RESIDENCE		SEX		RACE	
		PACIFIC STATES	OTHER STATES	MALE	FEMALE	WHITE	NON WHITE
ALL AGES	51,955	30,930	21,025	28,145	23,810	40,795	11,160
Under 5	5,455	2,215	3,240	2,775	2,680	5,040	415
5 to 9	4,010	2,215	1,795	2,120	1,890	3,750	260
10 to 19	8,240	3,635	4,605	5,305	2,935	7,225	1,015
20 to 29	12,710	6,025	6,685	6,935	5,775	8,180	4,530
30 to 39	9,455	7,290	2,165	4,575	4,880	7,130	2,325
40 to 49	6,485	5,095	1,390	3,500	2,985	4,710	1,775
50 to 59	3,400	2,735	665	1,850	1,550	2,775	625
60 to 69	1,770	1,455	315	890	880	1,600	170
70 and over	430	265	165	195	235	385	45
medium ages	26.5	31.9	21.3	25.6	27.6	25.4	28.6

Source: 1950 U.S. Census of Population, State of Birth, Special Report P-E No. 4A, pp. 80, 83, 94, 101, and 108.

Another source of information on migration to the Mainland is the census tabulation on persons who lived in the Territory on April 1, 1949 and somewhere in the continental United States a year later.[5] Unlike the foregoing data, which, limited to Hawaii-born persons, indicate migration only over a long and somewhat indefinite span of time, the 1949-1950 series pertains to a specific twelve-month period, without regard to place of birth. This period was one of considerable out-migration from the Islands, largely because of serious unemployment resulting from cut-backs in Federal spending, a prolonged shipping strike, and other economic causes. According to the report, 26,460 persons living on the Mainland on April 1, 1950 had been residents of Hawaii a year earlier. Of this number, 23,710 were white and 2,750 (10.4 percent of the total) were non-white, that is, Hawaiian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Negro, and the like. In geographic location, the out-migrants were most numerous in the West: 11,560 of them lived in the Pacific States and another 1,695 in the Mountain States, compared to 2,665 in the Northeast, 3,405 in the North Central States, and 7,135 in the South. A surprisingly large concentration of former Island residents was found in the Washington, D.C., area (Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia,) where 2,420 or 9.1 percent of the total, were enumerated. Among individual states, the leaders were California (with 10,165 ex-Islanders, 38.4 percent of the total), Texas (1,365), Virginia (1,215), and Washington State (975). Whites and non-whites tendered to follow similar geographic patterns, although the non-whites accounted for somewhat higher percentages of the regional or state total for out-migrants in California and the North Central States than in the Northeast, South, and remaining Western States.

[5] "Mobility of the Population -- State of Residence in 1949 and 1950," 1950 Census of Population, Advance Reports, Series PC-14, No. 17, July 1953, Table 12, p. 33.

A third measure of movement from the Territory is provided by estimates of decennial net migration, recently prepared for the Territory from available data on intercensal trends in population, births, and deaths.[6] These estimates, in effect, present the difference between out-migration and in-migration: a positive figure indicates an excess of in-migrants over out-migrants, while a minus sign represents an excess of out-migrants over in-migrants. Data on net migration do not necessarily provide an index of total movement; a relatively stable group, for example, may have a greater net change than a highly mobile group, if, as occurred during the 1940's, out and in-migration among members of the more mobile group strike a very close balance. Total mobility, however, must be ascertained from statistics for individual components of the net amount, such as given by the 1949-1950 figures reviewed in the preceding paragraphs.

Estimates of net migration are available for Hawaii for each decade from 1900 to 1950, with detail for sex, race, and age for the 1940-1950 period. These data reveal a definite excess of in-migrants during the first three decades of the twentieth century, followed by a net out-migration between 1930 and 1950. During the 1940's -- a period including the defense build-up prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, the dislocations of World War II, and the 1949 economic collapse--out-migrants exceeded in-migrants by approximately 15,700, or 3.7 percent of the persons living in Hawaii at the beginning of the decade. Both sexes had an excess of out-migrants, although the degree of out-migration was greater among males than among females. Only three of the nine age groups (as classified by age in 1950) were found to have a net in-migration during the 1940's -- persons 10-19, 20-29, and 80 and over. (The foregoing age and sex data suggest that some of the out-migration was probably a result of military cut-backs. These estimates, like the figures on place of birth and 1949-1950 migration, included the large military population of the Territory.) Perhaps the most striking feature of the net migration data for 1940-1950, however, is the difference revealed for the various racial groups. Only one of the seven groups for which data were available, the "other races" (chiefly Korean, Samoan, Negro, and Puerto Rican), recorded a net in-migration. All of the remaining racial stocks had a net loss from migration, as follows: Filipino, 2.1 percent; Caucasian, 2.9 percent; Chinese, 3.6 percent, Japanese, 4.6 percent; part Hawaiian, 6.7 percent; pure Hawaiian, 7.6 percent. The relatively small loss estimated for the Caucasian group indicates that the great out-migration reported for this group (in data on place of birth and 1949-1950 migration) was almost exactly balanced by in-migration during the 1940's. This conclusion seems especially valid in view of the fact that 40,335 of the 61,270 persons who lived in Hawaii in 1950 but elsewhere on V-J Day (August 14, 1945) were Caucasians.[7] Complete information appears in Table 6.

[6] Robert C. Schmitt, "Hawaii on the Move," Paradise of the Pacific, Vol. 65, No. 8, August 1953, p. 25.

[7] U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Detailed Characteristics, Hawaii, Bulletin P-C52, Table 34.

TABLE 6
ESTIMATED NET MIGRATION FOR HAWAII: 1900 to 1950

SUBJECT	NET MIGRATION NO.	NET MIGRATION %[1]
BY DECADE, 1900 TO 1950		
1900 to 1910	+33,325	+21.6
1910 to 1920	+26,346	+13.7
1920 to 1930	+37,045	+14.5
1930 to 1940	- 5,924	- 1.6
1940 to 1950	-15,695	- 3.7
BY SEX, 1940 TO 1950		
Male	-13,666	- 5.6
Female	- 2,029	- 1.1
BY RACE, 1940 TO 1950		
Hawaiian	-1,089	-7.6
Part Hawaiian	-3,362	-6.7
Caucasian	-3,035	-2.9
Chinese	-1,025	-3.6
Japanese	-7,323	-4.6
Filipino	-1,111	-2.1
Other races	+1,250	+7.8
BY AGE IN 1950, 1940 TO 1950		
Under 10 years[2]	-6,331	-5.1
10 to 19 years	+3,743	+4.5
20 to 29 years	+6,740	+7.0
30 to 39 years	-8,838	-9.5
40 to 49 years	-5,426	-8.7
50 to 59 years	-3,178	-8.0
60 to 69 years	-1,131	-4.3
70 to 79 years	-1,591	-9.9
80 years and over	+ 317	+5.1

[1] Percent of population in group at beginning of period.
[2] Born during decade.

Source: Robert C. Schmitt, "Hawaii on the Move," Paradise of the Pacific, Vol. 65, No. 8, August 1953, p. 25.

A final source of information regarding out-migration for Hawaii is the annual series, compiled by the Territorial Department of Health, on civilian population entering or leaving the Territory. Inasmuch as the in-migration and out-migration totals include non-residents, only the difference between the two is significant for an analysis of migration trends. These net civilian migration figures disclose considerable in-migration early in World War II, out-migration in 1945, 1947, and the six years ending in 1954, and a small amount of in-migration in 1955. The reasons for these variations lie in the rising and falling demand for war workers, the economic recession of 1949-1950, and the recent increase in servicemen's dependents. Statistics on net civilian migration for annual periods ending June 30, 1940 to 1955 are listed below:[8]

1940 - + 2,618	1944 - + 3,814	1948 - + 3,473	1952 - -13,777
1941 - + 4,699	1945 - -15,923	1949 - -21,499	1953 - - 5,855
1942 - +30,119	1946 - + 3,192	1950 - -23,135	1954 - - 4,814
1943 - - 2,913	1947 - - 4,947	1951 - - 6,554	1955 - + 6,011

[8] Data supplied by Bureau of Health Statistics, Territorial Department of Health.

These statistics underscore the fact that Hawaii is becoming more and more closely identified with the Mainland. Just as Mainlanders come to Hawaii to live, so do Islanders take up residence on the Mainland. This interchange of population has existed for at least a century, and shows every prospect of increasing in tempo. All groups share in the movement back and forth -- men and women, young persons and old, Haoles and Hawaiians and persons of Asiatic ancestry. The magnitude and range of the migratory movements not only reflect the ebb and flow of economic opportunities, but attest to the increasingly cosmopolitan outlook of Hawaii's residents. The out-migrants, in addition, should be viewed as the Territory's ambassadors to the Mainland -- more than sugar, pineapples or coffee, as Hawaii's most valuable export.

SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL CAMPAIGN IN HAWAII

Yukiko Kimura

The social adjustment of the first generation Japanese or the so-called Issei in Hawaii after World War II was characterized by revival of their former institutions. The reopening of Japanese language schools was the most aggressive campaign in this social trend. It was first stimulated by the legal contest in November, 1946, by Chinese language schools over the constitutionality of the Territory of Hawaii's Foreign Language School Law.[1] After the Chinese language schools won their case in October, 1947, the proponents of the Japanese language schools launched a vigorous campaign to solicit active support for the reopening of their schools. Within a half year, 15 Japanese language schools had reopened in Honolulu with 45 teachers and 3,800 students.[2] By 1953 the number of Japanese language schools in Hawaii had increased to 74 with 70 principals, 246 teachers, and 13,470 students.[3]

The Japanese language school campaign was an example of how a new movement achieved success in a situation in which the bulk of the people had articulated no desire at the beginning for the goal they later achieved. Three aspects pertinent to this success may be discussed, namely, (1) from the standpoint of the characteristics of a specific social movement, (2) from the standpoint of the Issei in general and (3) from the standpoint of the proponents of the language schools.

1. From the standpoint of the characteristics of what students of collective behavior call a specific social movement:

The language school campaign was a specific social movement, having (a) a definite goal to achieve, (b) definite leadership, (c) definite logical appeal, although not sophisticated enough to be called an ideology, (d) definite tactics with effective propaganda machine by means of the vernacular press. The success of the language school campaign may be attributed to the following factors.

The first important factor was the condition of the Issei community when the campaign was initiated. The Issei community was characterized by disorganization resulting from the sudden loss of intimate ties with the larger community which they had had during the war in terms of direct participation in the war effort. With the termination of the war effort and withdrawal of its personnel, the Issei had nobody to assist them in their post-war adjustment. Since the Nisei in Hawaii operated outside of the Issei world as members of the larger community, the Issei had no one who

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[1] The foreign language school law of the Territory of Hawaii, promulgated by the 1943 session of the legislature, made it illegal to teach a foreign language to children under 10 years of age or to those under 15 years whose public school grades were below average. This regulation meant to exclude all the younger children who constituted a large portion of the language school students.

[2] A. W. Lind, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing", Report No. 15.

[3] The Hawaii Jijo-Facts About Hawaii, Hawaii Times, Ltd., Honolulu, T.H. 1954, pp. 108-111.

understood their problems intimately from their standpoint. Their sense of loss of direction was exaggerated by their keen awareness of their being the only ethnic group of people who carried the distasteful stigma of defeated Japan. While it was a self-imposed stigma, they nevertheless suffered extreme humiliation and isolated themselves psychologically from the rest of the community. The mere lifting of all wartime restrictions against enemy aliens did not give them any clear-cut definition of the situation concerning their new status. In the atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity, they milled about in search for direction. In such a situation, if something catches the attention of the whole group, it provides a focus of attention, giving it a direction to act. Catching the opportune time to give such needed direction to the people by taking advantage of the Chinese language school litigation, the proponents of the Japanese language schools succeeded in arousing the Issei to act toward the desired goal.

In order to initiate a movement among the people who take their situation for granted, they must first be aroused to regard their situation with dissatisfaction. To arouse dissatisfaction, a contrast to their situation must be presented to them as an "ideal type" in terms of "what it ought to be," realizable if the whole group strives to achieve it. In order to achieve this objective, the role played by the Japanese vernacular press was very important.[4] Without such publicity and aggressive agitation, the reopening of the Chinese language schools would have been unnoticed by the bulk of the Japanese. By directing the attention of the Issei community to the Chinese language school case, the agitation aimed at creating doubts about the condition which the Issei had so far taken for granted. By continuously pointing to the significance of winning the case on the part of the Chinese language schools, the proponents of the Japanese language schools showed a concrete example which demonstrated that the absence of language schools was abnormal even among the Chinese and challenged the Japanese to correct their own situation. The legal victory of the Chinese language schools became a positive proof of success, providing them with an incentive to act.

As in the case of other social movements, the proponents usually develop some logical appeal to convince those with whom their movement is concerned. A common effort is to make the movement indispensable to attaining the goal for which the group as a whole is striving. In order to convince the Issei public about the unique and indispensable contribution by language schools, the proponents cited repeatedly the military records of the Nisei soldiers as interpreters as well as fighting men, stressing that the absence of language schools would deprive young people of such important training.

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[4] In the fall of 1947 while the Chinese language schools were engaged in litigation, the Hawaii Hochi published almost daily articles stressing the importance of winning the case on the part of the Chinese schools for the eventual reopening of Japanese language schools, urging the Japanese to combine their efforts in support of the Chinese language schools. These articles also stressed the role of Japanese language schools as supplementary to public schools in training loyal Americans, pointing out outstanding services of Nisei interpreters in the armed forces. While the Hawaii Times took a cautious stand about reopening of language schools, it nevertheless treated it as a major issue among the Japanese at that time.

Another important factor contributory to the success of the language school campaign was the consistent effort made by the proponents of the language schools to identify themselves with the prevailing sentiment of the Issei community at that time. In spite of the fact that practically all the former language school principals had been interned during the war and their families had suffered from deprivation, they make no open charge against the United States nor publicly expressed any bitterness toward it. This fact made their campaign more effective, because their effort was directed to conform with the general sentiment of the Japanese community which was moving toward Americanization despite the disorganization within the Issei community. If these proponents of the language schools should have associated their campaign with any feeling of bitterness toward the United States, they would have encountered a more organized resistance from those opposing the reopening of former Japanese institutions. Endorsing the prevailing sentiment among the Japanese and stressing that the language schools would facilitate the realization of their common objective of training the younger generation to become better Americans, the language school campaign served to channelize the common desire of the Issei. By presenting themselves as the champions of Americanization, the proponents became identified as the champions of the common cause of the whole Issei community, thus succeeding in securing the support of the majority of the Issei in realizing their goal. While the language school campaign was essentially a movement to restore a former order of things, it stressed Americanization of the future generation with open declarations of their policy for detachment from Japan and from Japanese type of training. A social movement cannot achieve a success if it is entirely contrary to the prevailing sentiment of the people concerned. In the case of the Issei, their identification with America was a result of their most recent experience with wartime participation. Hence, it was in the forward rather than backward trend and could not be blocked. Having incorporated the prevailing sentiment and desire of the Issei into their campaign, the proponents of the language schools articulated their common desire and channelized their common impulse, with the result that the language schools became regarded as indispensable for achieving their common goal.

2. From the standpoint of the Issei as a whole:

The reopening of language schools had an intrinsic appeal to the Issei generation. One reason for such an appeal was the promise the proponents made that the language schools facilitate communication between the Issei and their Hawaiian-born offspring and in addition, teach the latter such virtues as respect to elders and filial piety. Since the outbreak of the war, the Issei as a whole had been keenly conscious of the loss of their authority over their children and of separation from the latter. Any proposition which appeared to promise to restore some of their former close relations with the younger generation was reassuring to them.

The language school campaign gave tacit sanction for the Issei's loss of interest in learning English. During the war the Japanese language was banned as an "enemy language" and even when such wartime measures became less drastic, there was a Territory-wide "Speak American" campaign to Americanize the Issei. They struggled to learn to speak English while there was much pressure but when the acute shortage of manpower in the pineapple and other industries led to appeals to their patriotism by door-to-door solicitation, urging them to get employed, many found a convenient excuse for dropping their English study. By the time the subject of language schools was introduced to them, they were convinced that it would be easier for the younger generation to learn a second language than for them.

As in the case of other Japanese institutions, religious or secular, Japanese language schools provide the Issei who have meager education with a chance to have honorary positions of prestige within the Japanese community as members of boards of directors and officers and members of committees for numerous social activities. Language schools are among the few institutions which the Issei can manipulate as their own worthy projects and have the satisfaction of serving a "good cause." The very nature of the emphasis on Japanese helps the Issei to feel that they can claim their superiority to the Nisei.

3. From the standpoint of the proponents of the language school campaign:

The loss of livelihood and social status on the part of the language school principals was very crucial to the whole language school campaign. If the larger community had been able to give these principals upon their return from their Mainland internment something which they could have considered worthwhile or some project which would have given them prestige approximating their pre-war status as "educators," providing them with a source of self-respect, such widespread revival of Japanese language schools might have been avoided. While most of them had secured jobs for their sustenance as yardmen, semi-craftsmen, janitors, etc., such menial jobs were merely marks of their humiliated status without giving them satisfaction or incentive to advance and therefore, endurable only as a temporary measure. This fact was evident in that within a few years after the Chinese language schools won their case, a large number of pre-war Japanese language schools came into existence with the same principals. For the purpose of teaching the language a few good schools would have been sufficient. From the standpoint of providing "respectable" occupational positions to most, if not all, of the pre-war language school principals, however, it would not be sufficient. None of them would be willing to assume a position below their pre-war status of a head of a school. If such a thing should have been enforced, there would have been intolerable rivalry among them. To the principals the elimination of the language schools meant deprivation of their rightful means of livelihood. If the deprivation had been universal in the whole community or at least in the whole Japanese community and the financial hardships a general social phenomenon, these principals might have taken their lot more willingly. However, having found that most of the Japanese had prospered by taking advantage of the wartime boom and that they were a small unfortunate minority, they felt the contrast keenly and regarded their own lot as a reflection of unfairness to them.

The effort on the part of the returned internees including language school principals to revive their pre-war institutions was also due to the fact that, upon their return to Hawaii, they found fanatical groups comprised of several hundred Issei declaring belief in Japanese victory, operating without any punishment. They compared these groups with their own wartime internment which they considered too severe a punishment for being labelled as "potentially dangerous" persons. This consciousness of having been treated unjustly made them reassert their rights of operating their own institutions as the legitimate means of livelihood.

Basically, the language school campaign was an Issei movement. Japanese language schools will continue to provide a means of livelihood to those with Japanese education who cannot compete in the economic life of the larger community. On the other hand, the Issei, including the language school principals and teachers, normally expect their Hawaii-born offspring to compete in the larger community rather than to be their successors. In

Hawaii where the Orientals are accepted as part of the larger community, there is no need for the Issei to prepare future occupational opportunities for their offspring in the exclusively Japanese community. This fact suggests that with the passing of the Issei generation, Japanese language schools as an institution will decline in number and influence.

MY EXPERIENCE WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Yvonne Tong

Having been brought up in Hong Kong among the Chinese, and after living a year in Honolulu with my grandmother, I was suddenly shocked to learn that arrangements had been made for me to work for a Haole friend of my mother's in return for my room and board. This meant a drastic change to me as I had been thoroughly pampered by our servants in Hong Kong who were always eager to please. The mere thought of getting down on all fours to scrub the floors was unbearable. Nevertheless, as there was no choice in the matter, I decided to make the best of things, but it never occurred to me that I would be embarrassed by many of my actions!

For example, while I was peeling an apple for my employer one day, I gradually sensed her eyes scrutinizing my hands and the apple I was peeling. Before I was half through, she could stand it no longer and decided to let the whole family in on the "show" which I was unconsciously performing so well. It was not until the apple was completely peeled that I learned that their interest was in the manner I was peeling the apple instead of the swiftness of my movement or the thin and even quality of the peels! Let me explain the difference. The method most commonly used here in peeling an object is by holding the knife with the blade facing yourself, placing the thumb on the object, while the fingers grip and propel the knife. The Chinese way of peeling is exactly opposite, for the blade is held away from yourself, the thumb propels the knife towards the index finger while the other fingers grip the knife. Although the two methods are so entirely different, it would be difficult to prove that one is better than the other.

Another incident had to do with the preparation of a cucumber for salad. Trying to impress my employer by doing exactly what our wonderful cook in Hong Kong had taught me, I proceeded to clean the cucumber. First I cut off a slice from either end of the cucumber, and then, with the cut slice I rubbed the cut surface of one endoof the cucumber with a circular motion. This massaging action caused some sudsy white substance to ooze out of the cucumber. The Chinese consider this substance to be poisonous, or at least unhealthy. After one end had been sufficiently cleaned out of this "poison," I repeated the process on the other end. But I suppose other people are more sturdily made and therefore can resist this "poison." At any rate, my effort to please my employer in this manner ended in disappointment, for instead of being praised for knowing something so "sanitary" and important, I was made fun of for doing such a "worthless and silly" thing! Yet I know of many Chinese who firmly believe that it is important to clean out the "poison" from cucumbers before they are eaten.

At the first dinner party my employer gave after I had gone to work for her, I learned how meat is served, but only after much regret and embarrassment. It all happended because I had been so accustomed to the Chinese way of serving their meat already cut into edible pieces perhaps because they are considerate and the person eating the meat will not have to struggle and waste time trying to saw the meat into proper sizes to fit his mouth. Anyhow, my employer was serving a leg of lamb at that dinner party, and with my usual intention of being helpful, I began to cut up her beautiful roasted leg of lamb in the kitchen. It wasn't long before I was stopped and learned with great embarrassment that the guest of honor was supposed to have had the "privilege" of carving at the table! I, of course, can see no logical reason for such a time-wasting and laborious act for it seems so much nicer and simpler to sit at the table and just eat without bothering to do any cutting. Moreover, I believe that a big roast on a large

platter would only be in the way since a dining table usually has only limited space.

While I am on the subject of dining, I would like to mention what seems to the Chinese, a queer foreign custom--that of dining by candlelight. The Chinese, as I have been taught, regard candles as objects to be used in connection with sacred observances, such as in the temples where candles are a necessary item of equipment for worshipping. Candles are also used at funerals. For this reason, the traditional Chinese will not consider eating by candlelight. On the lighter side, it may be said that perhaps the Chinese are usually curious about what they put in their mouths too. They want to see what they eat.

One Sunday morning, as soon as I entered the kitchen, I saw a note requesting me to awaken my employer with her usual breakfast which consists of toast, bacon and eggs, and coffee. The note instructed me to serve her breakfast in bed at exactly nine o'clock. This seemed strange to me because the Chinese do not believe in eating any meal in bed unless one is too ill to get up. Furthermore, if it so happened that a person had to be served breakfast in bed, he would not think of eating before at least cleaning his mouth and brushing his teeth. Since the Chinese family is equipped with many basins and all kinds of water containers, it is a very simple matter for the person breakfasting in bed to had a simple washup before eating. You can imagine my look of astonishment, therefore, when I watched my employer begin eating her breakfast as soon as I had awakened her and placed the food before her!

One distinct observation which I have made is in the difference in which affection is shown. The Chinese are usually reserved as compared with the demonstrative Haoles. For instance, it would be very unusual to see a grown-up Chinese son or daughter upon returning home after an absence of any length of time, to go up to his parents and hug and kiss them. The Haoles, on the other hand, think nothing of demonstrating their affection for anyone, regardless of how old or young he is, or where they may be. In order that I do not give the impression that the Chinese are absolutely cold and unfeeling, I would like to add that they do show their affection to children by the usual endearing acts.

A custom which I have been taught to practice at all times relates to gifts which people bring when they come to visit. Although it is polite to accept these gifts, it is more important to remember to give something in return when the guest departs. For example, if your guest brings you a cake, it is mandatory that you cut off at least a quarter of the cake for your guest to take home. If the gift is undividable, then it is necessary for one to give something from his own refrigerator or cupboard, preferably fruits or candy. This custom is an illustration of the Chinese maxim which conveys the idea of perpetual friendship. After considering the way I had been taught, you can well imagine how stupid I felt when I waited patiently for a signal from my employer to cut a piece of the cake her friend had brought her, so that she would have something to take back.

Working and living with a Haole has been fun as well as educational for me for I have learned many things. But although the incidents related above may seem amusing or even foolish, I believe that I have gained sociologically by writing about them.

ATTITUDES OF ASIATIC STUDENTS TO ORIENTATION IN HAWAII [1]

Douglas S. Yamamura

Introduction

The selection of the University of Hawaii as a sponsoring institution for an orientation program for foreign students coming to America under the Fulbright Program raised many questions regarding the desirability of the site. Recognizing the varying positions held by people on the relative merits of Hawaii for this purpose, the Division of International Educational Exchange Service of the State Department requested that a study be conducted at the orientation center in Hawaii for the purpose of shedding some light on the problem. Specifically, the directives of the State Department indicated that the evaluation was to be carried out on the site of the orientation program and not on the organization or the functioning of the orientation center itself.[2] This initially posed some rather difficult methodological questions. From the researcher's point of view, it may be assumed that the individual foreign students would tend to gauge and judge his social environment selectively in terms of his previous experience, his personality makeup, and in this instance his experiences in the program of the orientation center. Thus, to separate the reactions of the grantees to Hawaii as a site for orientation from his reactions to the formal program of orientation presented at the center is beset with numerous difficulties.

With this basic difficulty of handling the problem in mind, materials were collected on the reaction of the grantees to (1) the fact of being assigned to Hawaii, (2) the orientation program, (3) the staff of the orientation center, (4) the people of the community, (5) the treatment accorded them and (6) the other grantees at the center. It was assumed that favorable reactions to these various areas was favorable to the attainment of the objectives of the orientation program.

These materials were collected by the utilization of the following interrelated methods:

1. Formally structured interviews.
2. Informal observation and recording of events and conversations by:
    a. the researcher.
    b. members of the staff of the orientation center.
    c. dormitory counselors.
    d. members of the community who had contact with the group.
    e. two students from Thailand and Japan respectively (regular students of the University of Hawaii) who were engaged to pay particular attention to grantees from these countries.
3. Written materials bearing on their reactions to Hawaii that were prepared for the English and Speech classes.
4. Some materials were extracted from the diaries which they were urged to keep as a part of their English class activities.[3]

An evaluation requires that the criterion or criteria by which judgements are to be made be stated as explicitly as possible. In order to frame the criteria for judgement, the following general objectives of the Fulbright Program (under which foreign grantees were selected for one year of study in the United States) were formulated.[4]

1. Students from foreign countries are brought to the United States:
    a. to give them advanced training in the fields of their choice.
    b. to acquaint them with democracy as we practice it, be it good or bad, effective or ineffective.
    c. in the belief that experience in both these areas contribute to their more informed participation in the development of their respective countries.

If these broad and tentatively stated objectives of the program are accepted, the orientation centers might be thought of as functioning to:

1. prepare the grantees, within the limits of the six weeks alloted to the program, to meet some of the problems he will face as a student in an American University.
2. acquaint him with the professional and interest groups in the community that satisfy his interest.
3. acquaint him with the democratic ideals and practices that exist within the community in which his orientation center is located.

From this point of view, factors that facilitate the attainment of these ends could be considered favorable while those that hinder or complicate the attainment of these ends could be considered unfavorable.

Background of the Students

The center formally began its activities as an orientation center on July 25, 1954. Thirty-five Asiatic students were assigned to the orientation center at the University of Hawaii. Of these, eight were from Japan, seven from Korea, five each from Thailand and Indonesia, four each from Viet Nam and the Philippines, and one each from Laos and Malaya. Four-fifths of the grantees were males. There were two female grantees from Thailand, one from Viet Nam and four from the Philippines.

There were some rather significant age differences in the composition of the various nationality groups. One of the more interesting facts was the relatively older age of the Korean men, which ranged from 30-44 years. The Japanese group, on the other hand, ranged in age from 22-35 while the Thai grantees ranged in age from 26 to 33 years. The mean age for the entire group was 29.6 years with a range from 19 to 44 years.

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[1] This is a summary of a report submitted to the International Educational Exchange Service of the United States State Department.

[2] It further specifically recommended that major attention be paid to the Japanese and Thai grantees with the view of further studying the experience of the groups after a length of residence on the Mainland.

[3] This proved the least fruitful as the round of daily activities of the students prevented them from keeping any systematic records.

[4] This is not an official statement, but merely represents the author's formulation for the purpose of explicating the basis for judgment.

The grantees reflected considerable variation in professional interest. The data indicated that more than two-thirds of the grantees were classifiable as professionally established.[5] Of the various professions, teaching (approximately two-thirds of the professionally established) was most heavily represented. Of the twenty-four individuals reporting themselves as professionally established, twenty-two (if we consider teaching as government service) were in the employ of their respective governments. Of those who were not professionally established, more than three-fourths were prospective teachers in various fields. By nationality, all of the Korean grantees were professionally established as university professors, three-fourths of the Japanese were professionally established and attached to some branch of government service, while three of the five Thai grantees were in teaching. The remaining Thai grantees were respectively in medicine and in engineering.

Initial Reactions of the Students

Initial reactions to Assignment to Hawaii for Orientation. During the first week of the operation of the orientation center at the University of Hawaii, all grantees were interviewed to obtain information on their initial reactions to Hawaii.[6] The first question raised was "What was your reaction (How did you feel) when you learned that you were assigned to Hawaii for orientation?" Crudely classified, 25 (71.2%) of the 35 students indicated that they were pleased or very happy over their assignment to Hawaii. There were four types of reasons given by the grantees who initially reacted favorably to their assignment to Hawaii. The first group of fourteen grantees had conceptualized Hawaii as an idea spot for a vacation. They spoke of the world famous Waikiki Beach, of the beautiful flowers and the scenery of the Islands which made this an inviting place to come. Typical of the comments were:

> I was very much pleased when told to come to Hawaii. I knew about Hawaii before I came here from people in my country who had been here. I heard that your climate was wonderful and the scenery beautiful--very much like ours at home. (male grantee from Thailand)

> Everyone told me how lucky I was to be sent to Hawaii. My sister was sent to Eugene, Oregon. They told me how lucky I was because the climate was nice and there were lots of sights to see. They also told me how nice the people here were. (female grantee from the Philippines)

[5] By definition the professionally established individuals were those who had held a specific position for at least two years and had indicated that they were returning to their positions on the completion of their year of study.

[6] It was recognized at the outset that one of the difficulties of the present research would be the problem of getting the grantees to express frankly and honestly their evaluation of their experiences in Hawaii. One of the checks established was to integrate into the Thai and Japanese groups, regular University of Hawaii students from the respective countries, who reported on the "in-group" conversations. It was found that there was a very close correspondence between what was said prviately among themselves and the testimony given the researcher. Other crude observational checks satisfied the researcher that he was getting as accurate an evaluation as was possible from these grantees.

The second group of two grantees conceptualized their assignment to Hawaii as a fortunate "break" in the practical sense that they were being given the opportunity to visit and live in a community a little different from what they expected on the Mainland which they otherwise would not have had the opportunity to know. The comment of a grantee from the Philippines illustrates this position:

> Sixteen were chosen to come to the United States from my country. All those sent to the Mainland for orientation were envious of us. I was very happy because I was being given the opportunity to see and know two different places--Hawaii and the Mainland United States. Since I knew I was going to the Mainland, I welcomed this chance to come here. (female grantee from the Philippines)

The third group of seven grantees had conceptualized Hawaii as a mid-station or a stepping stone to America for students from Asia. They spoke of Hawaii as the meeting place of East and West and the site that can demonstrate to the peoples of Asia the efficacy of American democracy. Most of this group of grantees had had contacts with Americans and others who had been here previously. Among the characteristic comments was this one:

> I was very happy when told that I was assigned to Hawaii. Of course, I knew about Hawaii. Hawaii has something for all Asiatics. You have many races here that have become Americans. It is very much unlike the situation in the British colonies. It is a mid-station for us. I believe that we could learn American ways without all of the other problems which we would have if we went to the Mainland directly. (male grantee from Malaya)

The fourth group had conceptualized Hawaii as a place that meets their particular needs and therefore reacted favorably to their assignment.

> I am not good in English and I know it. I was very happy to come to Hawaii because I thought this place is best for me to brush up on English. I know many Japanese people in Hawaii and I thought I should be able to learn English much more easily. I am afraid to talk very much because my English is not good. (male grantee from Japan)

Ten grantees (28.6%) expressed initial disappointment on being informed of their assignment to Hawaii for orientation. Two types of reasons were given by this group. The largest group (8 grantees) expressed disappointment because they felt Hawaii was not the proper site for the orientation of Asiatic students on their way to the Mainland for a year of university work. On a nationality basis, four were from Indonesia, one from Thailand, and three from Japan. Typical of the testimony of this group was the following:

> I was disappointed when first told that I was to come to Hawaii. I wondered just how we are going to be oriented to America in the middle of the Pacific. From the movies from

America we get the idea that Hawaii was the land of beautiful girls and very rich people. I could not see how this could be a good site for orientation. (male grantee from Indonesia)

The remaining two grantees from Viet Nam expressed initial disappointment at being assigned to Hawaii primarily because of their desire to come to the United States by way of Europe so that they could have visited relatives in Europe.

> Frankly I was disappointed when told that I am to come to Hawaii for orientation. You see, from Harvard, where I am to go, the distance between my home is the same regardless of which route I took. I wanted very much to see my brother in Belgium. I wondered why I was brought to the middle of the Pacific for orientation to America. I wondered why they did not send me directly to Harvard for orientation. I thought it would be much better for me to orient right there. (male grantee from Viet Nam)

In order to test the reliability of the responses of the grantees to the above question, it was decided to ask the same question in the questionnaire administered during their final week of stay in Hawaii. The responses of the two time periods, when compared with each other, revealed a high degree of reliability with over 90 per cent of the grantees reacting in a consistent fashion.

In the initial interviews, the grantees were also asked to give their reactions to the Islands in view of their experiences since their arrival (the bulk of the grantees had been here for about a week). The number of grantees reacting favorably to Hawaii increased from twenty-five to thirty-one. Twenty-three grantees who had favorably received the news of their assignment to Hawaii stated that their expectations were fulfilled on their arrival. One-half of the eight grantees who reacted unfavorably to being assigned to Hawaii and subsequently indicated a more favorable attitude were from Indonesia. The bulk of the grantees in this group confessed ignorance of Hawaii prior to leaving their home countries as the basic cause for the initial dissatisfaction with the assignment. Of the two students who reacted favorably initially to being assigned to Hawaii and who subsequently expressed dissatisfaction, one was from Japan and the other from the Philippines. Finally, two students, from Japan and Viet Nam respectively, indicated that they were disappointed when first informed of their assignment to Hawaii and had not changed their minds since their arrival.

Initial Reaction to the All Asiatic Character of the Grantees at the Orientation Center. Another problem of interest was the reaction of the grantees to the all Asiatic character of the students at the orientation center. The bulk of the grantees expressed unqualified approval of this. Three lines of reasoning were evident among the grantees. The largest group of grantees (22 to 62.8%) felt that this gathering of students from Asia was a fine thing and justified it in terms of learning more about each other and thus laying the groundwork for more international cooperation between their respective countries. The following testimony illustrates the line of reasoning of the grantees in this group:

> I was very happy (over the presence of all of these students from Asia) because after all, international cooperation is now stressed. This is a good opportunity to learn about the

> other people in Asia. After all we live in the same area and we should try to get along with each other. The only way this can be done is by getting to know each other. Filipinos are still bitter about the Japanese. But it is much better now . . . I think this kind of contact should help understanding each other. (female grantee from the Philippines)

Four grantees (11.4%) generally supported the idea that this gathering of students from Asia was a fine thing, but added that it could have been much better with the presence of either students from Europe or the Middle East. Two students from Indonesia mentioned the desirability of students from India and Pakistan, while the grantees from Malaya and Japan referred to the desirability of students from Europe.

Five grantees from Japan, in addition to mentioning the desirability of European students, expressed some fears of the attitudes of students from those countries in Southeast Asia who "suffered from the domination of the militaristic rulers of Japan" during World War II. The following testimony of a grantee from Japan who served as a nominal group leader expressed both a fear and at the same time a need to bolster their national pride:

> I am a little afraid of what other Asiatic students feel for us. I didn't know how they are feeling about the Japanese. The Indonesians sang Japanese military songs for us during our first evening here. The war songs sound good, but I don't care for words. I didn't know why they sing these Japanese military songs. Now I am beginning to feel that they are not too hateful of the Japanese. Even Filipino students very friendly. I am also proud because biggest group here is Japanese students. It means that we are well regarded by the United States. (male grantee from Japan)

That this fear was evidenced by the Japanese group was reflected in the awareness of the Indonesians who as a group rather voluntarily testified that they had no feelings against the group of Japanese grantees. One of the grantees from Indonesia made the following statement.

> I think it was a very good idea to bring together all these students from Asia . . . and the Japanese group are fine, though they do not mix too well with us. I heard some of the students say that they are concerned because many people in our country suffered from the Japanese militarists. The people of Indonesia had great admiration for the Japanese before the war. The Japanese were leaders in Southeast Asia and they were admired for the things they did for themselves. Our war experiences made some of the people bitter. But I feel that we ought to thank them for what they did in the area. I have great admiration for them because they are so progressive. I like them fine, though they are a reserved group. We tried to make them feel at home the first night they were here by going to dinner with them and by singing some Japanese military songs . . . I don't think they liked it very well.

The comment that the Japanese grantees were reserved was made generally by all other grantees. This cutward reserve might have been a reaction of the group toward the uncertaintly about the general attitude of the other grantees toward them. After the initial introduction and attempts to integrate the individual grantees across national lines, the bulk of the

Japanese grantees remained conspicuously the only national group to remain relatively aloof and confined most of their contacts within the group. They seemed to confer with each other very frequently, to go to meals together, and to hold meetings of their own group in one of the dormitory rooms. The oldest grantee, who also held the highest prestige position among the Japanese grantees, served as nominal head of the group. For this behavior, one of the Japanese grantees volunteered the following explanation:

> We have been under psychological tension. By psychological tension I mean we have come to a place quite different from home, and we sometimes don't know what to expect. (Interviewer remarked that all grantees faced essentially the same problem). The other students speak and understand English so much better than the Japanese students. Besides, the Japanese students feel that most of these foreign students from other countries have gone out of their way to be friendly, but there was some doubt as to the sincerity of these students. Some of our boys feel that they appear friendly but they actually hate us all.

To explain the tendency for the Japanese grantees to remain together without mixing with other groups, he offered the following:

> These boys are in a strange place. Therefore, it is natural that they get together. I believe one of the reasons for their staying close together is lack of understanding English. All of them are in the same English grammar and speech class. They naturally get out the same time and go together. They are still very much ill at ease in English and find it much easier to express their thoughts in Japanese. They therefore go together because they can talk to each other. Until they feel a little more confident, the only way in which they can feel at home is to converse with those who understand their language. This is why the Japanese students have gotten on so well with the Koreans. Most of the Japanese students are older as are the Koreans. They all speak the same language and so they can talk to each other.

The remaining four grantees expressed no opinion as to the desirability or undesirability of the all Asiatic character of the orientation student body. All of these were Korean grantees who had great difficulty in expressing their sentiments in English.

Subsequent Reactions to Orientation in Hawaii

The discussion in this section will center primarily on the materials collected through a questionnaire which was anonymously answered by all but one grantee.[7] Though the group was asked merely to indicate the country from which they came, all but two grantees signed their names to the questionnaire. The answers to the questions were supplemented by the more informal observational materials and the recording of casual conversations during the course of the period of orientation in Hawaii.

7/ One grantee from Viet Nam failed to return the questionnaire.

It was initially pointed out that one of the difficulties of the present research was the separation of the influence of the orientation site from that of the orientation center. It was felt that the grantees would react to the total situation. Thus, though consideration of the reactions of the grantees to the program of orientation was outside the scope of the study, it was felt that questions relating to their experiences and reactions to it were necessary to adequately evaluate their reactions to the site of orientation. The questionnaire asked about the grantee's evaluation of (a) the program of the orientation center, (b) the staff of the orientation center, (c) the treatment accorded them by people of the community and the social activities to which they were invited, (d) the other foreign grantees at the center, and finally (e) Hawaii as a site for the orientation of foreign grantees. The grantees were asked to check one of five alternative responses offered for each question--two alternatives indicating a favorable evaluation, two indicating a negative or unfavorable evaluation, and a neutral position. In addition they were provided the opportunity to respond to each item by making any comments they wished about the particular question. For the purpose of reporting, responses were classified as unfavorable, favorable, and neutral. For the purposes of summary, the two favorable categories were arbitrarily assigned score values of 5 and 4, the neutral position was assigned a value of 3 and the negative responses were scored 2 and 1.

Reactions to the Orientation Program. The first group of five questions which referred to the reactions of the grantees to the orientation program revealed rather varied responses. On the question of their feelings about their orientation to America as presented by the Hawaiian Orientation Center, 6 (17.6%) of the grantees expressed dissatisfaction or unhappiness with the program. Of the six grantees who were negatively impressed, four were from Japan. The principal source of dissatisfaction was what the students called the "rigidity of the program", especially in terms of its time scheduling.

The program of the orientation center called for regular classes until noon in Speech, English, and lectures on the American society. The afternoon hours were scheduled for discussion and for speech laboratory work. The grantees, in general, expressed the feeling that more free time in the afternoons would be much more valuable to them. Thus, the scheduling of the various activities was reshuffled. It is interesting to note that though the bulk of the students expressed the feeling that their time was too rigidly scheduled in classes, 26 (76.4%) of them expressed satisfaction with the orientation to America as presented by the center. Typical of the comments of this group was the following:

> Because of the help given by the staff and the people here in our adjusting to American society, I have been very happy. But it would be better not to overcrowd our program so as to give us some time for rest and other things we are interested in. For example, visiting people in our field of study. (male grantee from Indonesia)

Two grantees (5.9%) took a neutral stand, expressing neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction with the program.

On the arbitrary five point scoring scheme (favorable-unfavorable in descending order), the mean score for the entire group was 3.8. The Thai grantees, however, had a mean of 4.4 and the Japanese students a mean of 2.9.

The second question referred to their feelings about the academic work of the orientation center. Nine grantees (26.5%) expressed dissatisfaction, 10 (29.4%) expressed neutral sentiments, while 15 (44.1%) expressed general satisfaction with the academic program of the orientation center. One-third of the grantees who expressed dissatisfaction or a neutral attitude toward the academic program had conceptualized the function of the orientation program as means of furthering their professional training directly. Others reacted to the "heavy" scheduling or to what they labeled the propaganda of the program.

> What do you mean by academic work? I rather suffered from the lack of academic air at the orientation center. (male grantee from Japan)

In another context, this grantee from Japan, who "suffered from the lack of academic air" noted:

> There is another issue which I would like to talk about. It is the question of orientation or Americanization. Some of our boys feel that we are being Americanized--by this I mean, in class we are taught how to behave in the dining room, answering telephones, and such. Some feel this is not orientation, but an attempt to convert us into Americans. We have no wish to become Americans.

The grantees who held neutral positions generally refused to make any comments.

There was a single Japanese grantee among the fifteen who reacted favorably to the academic work of the orientation center. His testimony indicates a rather interesting line of reasoning.

> I comparison with the English education which I received in Japan, I believe the academic work here is well arranged and quite instructive as well as enjoyable. In Japan, classes are carried out in more formal style, while here it is so informal so I enjoy the classes here.

It would seem that the unfavorable or neutral reactions of the remaining seven grantees from Japan may have stemmed from the complete informality of the discussion methods utilized in teaching as well as from their basic notion that the orientation program was organized specifically to meet directly their immediate professional objectives.

The grantees who reacted favorably to the academic work of the center referred to the help they received in English, both oral and written, and the deeper understanding they acquired of the American people and their culture from the lectures. The following comment illustrates the general reactions of this group:

> We learn a lot about things American. We adjust ourselves to speaking and listening to English as our language and in this field I think we have made progress. (male grantee from Indonesia)

The grantees reacted relatively unfavorably to the academic program of the orientation center. The group mean score was 3.2; for the Thai students, 4.0; and the Japanese grantees, 2.5. The group mean might be

interpreted as a neutral position in this area, while the Thai students were most favorable, and the Japanese students as a group were negatively impressed.

In the light of the above testimony, it was interesting to note that when the grantees were asked to indicate whether they felt they had made progress since coming to Hawaii in learning the American way of doing things, only one grantee (2.9%) indicated that he had learned a few things about America but didn't feel that it would be especially helpful to him, while 7 (20.6%) said they had learned a few things about America, but did not have any feelings about whether it was going to be helpful to them or not, and 26 (76.5%) felt that their experiences here would be most helpful in adjusting to the situation they will face on the Mainland.

The mean score of the group on this item was 3.9; for the Thai grantees, 4.2; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.5. The group as a whole was relatively satisfied with the progress they felt they had made during their stay toward learning American ways of doing things.

The fourth item in this area dealt with a generalized attitude toward the orientation center as reflected by their willingness or unwillingness to remain here if they were given the opportunity to change. Three grantees (8.8%) stated that they would leave this orientation center if given the opportunity to attend another on the Mainland, while six grantees (17.6%) expressed a neutral position (they would as soon remain here as anywhere else), and 25 (73.5%) expressed the preference for the local orientation center and would not choose to leave.

The mean score of the group on this item was 3.7; the Thai grantees scored 4.0; and the grantees from Japan, 3.1. In general, the Japanese group reacted in a neutral way to this item, while the Thai delegation reacted favorably. Taken as a group, the grantees reacted relatively favorably to this item.

The final item in this area dealt with a general summary of their evaluation of the orientation center in Hawaii. Five categories were included. The grantees distributed themselves as follows: completely dissatisfied, 0; more dissatisfied than satisfied, 2.(5.9%); about half and half, 7 (20.6%); more satisfied than dissatisfied, 16 (47%); and completely satisfied, 9 (26.5%). The two grantees who reacted unfavorably were from Japan and had consistently reacted less favorably to all previous items. Of the remaining Japanese grantees, four placed themselves in the neutral category, and one each in the more favorable categories. All Thai grantees placed themselves in the favorable categories. The group mean on this item was 3.9; for the Thai grantees, 4.4; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.1. On the whole, the Japanese grantees reacted least favorably (their score position was neutral) while the Thai group reacted most favorably to the various aspects of the orientation program.

Reactions to the Staff of the Orientation Center. The second group of two questions related to the reactions of the grantees to the staff of the orientation center. The first item dealt with the reactions to the treatment accorded them by the faculty members of the orientation staff. None expressed negative sentiments to the treatment accorded them by faculty members, 3 grantees (8.8%) expressed neutral attitudes; 4 (11.8%) found them rather helpful and 27 (79.4%) noted that they found faculty members helpful, thoughtful, and courteous, and had been happy working with them.

Among the comments made by grantees who were favorably impressed was the following:

> I can strongly say that they all are very sincere in the way they act and I am sure that they are the only group of people here who really understand Thai people. I have never met such a wonderful teachers in my life. I am very happy to work with them and meet them. They don't care much about the talent you have or how wonderful you are. This is the only thing that makes me love Hawaii. (male grantee from Thailand)

The three grantees who expressed neutral attitudes toward the faculty were from Japan. Their comments indicated that they were favorably impressed by some of the faculty members and negatively impressed by others. One of them noted:

> It depends upon the person. I felt some of them were very helpful and courteous but contrary for the rest of them. (male grantee from Japan)

The mean score on this item for the entire group was 4.7; for the Thai grantees, 5.0; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.9. On the whole, there seemed to have been rather high satisfaction with the faculty, though the Japanese grantees were significantly lower in their estimate of the behavior of faculty members.

The second item in this area referred to the reactions of the grantees to the treatment accorded them by the counselors at Atherton House (dormitory where the grantees were housed during their stay). None expressed negative sentiments about their treatment by the house counselors, 4 grantees (11.8%) expressed neutral sentiments, 9 (26.4%) found them rather helpful, and 21 (61.8%) felt that the counselors were most helpful, thoughtful, and courteous. The group mean score on this item was 4.5; for the Thai grantees, 4.4; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.9.

Relatively speaking, the reactions of the entire group of grantees were favorable to the treatment accorded them by members of the staff of the orientation center.

Reactions to the General Community. A third group of two questions related to the reactions of the grantees to the treatment accorded them by members of the general community. Among the activities participated in by the grantees were special excursions arranged by the staff, social events sponsored by such organizations as the Zonta Club, the Lions, AAUW, special events to which select professional groups among the grantees were invited (e.g. engineers were invited to the Engineering Society meeting and individuals were taken to engineering project sites, some of the teachers were invited to affairs sponsored by teachers, etc.), and the more general invitations extended to all grantees by the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, the Japanese and Philippines Consulate and by the Hawaiian Civic Association. In addition, individual or small groups of grantees were invited to the homes for dinner and the entire group was invited by members of the Wahiawa community for two weekends. In turn, the grantees served as hosts on guest nights to which representatives of the various professional and social groups were invited. As a final gesture, the grantees presented an International Night program to which members of the community were invited.

In the light of these experiences, the grantees were asked to indicate how they felt about the treatment accorded them by the people in the community. There was almost a complete unanimity in the responses of the grantees. Twenty-nine (85.3%) reported that they had received most hospitable and kind treatment from the people in the community, 4 (11.8%) said that they were fairly well treated by the people in the community, while one (2.9%) grantee noted that the treatment he received was what people would do in most communities for visitors. There were no negative attitudes expressed. Among the comments made by the grantees was the following:

> This needs no explanation. It is something that cannot be expressed in words. It is an abstract feeling and the joy of it all is an inward satisfaction. We have had most hospitable treatment. Some have enjoyed our company and have repeated their invitations. Some could not understand our philosophy and problems and let it go at that. But in every case there was lots of hospitality. (male grantee from Malaya).

The mean score of the group on this item was 4.8; for the Thai grantees, 4.4; and for the grantees from Japan, 4.9.

The second item in this area related to how the grantees reacted to the social activities to which they had been invited by members of the community. It was interesting to note that while the grantees were overwhelmingly impressed with the treatment accorded them by the people of the community, eight grantees (23.5%) indicated that they had not enjoyed the social activities to which they had been invited, 5 (14.7%) indicated a neutral position, 13 (38.3%) indicated that these activities were interesting, and 8 (23.5%) indicated that they found these events most interesting and enjoyable. Of the eight who indicated a negative attitude, five were Japanese grantees. Of the five Thai grantees, four indicated favorable attitudes, while one indicated a neutral position. In general, the students who reacted negatively to this item confessed that they were not particularly interested in the type of social activities to which they were invited or that they were bothered by language difficulties in these social gatherings. Typical of the comments was:

> Though I had a few good activities, most of all are thoughtless and noisy meetings, invitations, party and visiting. (male grantee from Japan)

Among the comments of those who were favorably impressed was the following:

> The social activities have given me an opportunity to meet people and I think that is the most interesting thing in life. However, I must say that I enjoyed the social activities all the more when only small groups participated in them. I hate to go around nodding and smiling foolishly, talking for the sake of politeness, shaking hands with so many people then forgetting them. (female grantee from the Philippines)

The mean score for the group on this item was 3.6; for the Thai grantees, 3.8; and for the grantees from Japan, 2.9.

Reactions to Other Grantees from Asia. One of the unique features of this orientation center was the fact that it was composed exclusively of students from Asia. The grantees were initially asked their reactions to the

all Asiatic background of the grantees of this orientation center and with the exception of a few Japanese and Indonesian grantees, were favorably impressed on the grounds that this made it possible for them to know each other better. Some of the grantees noted the necessity for knowing each other to lay the basis for international cooperation of peoples in that area. Three questions relating to the reactions of the grantees to each other were asked in the questionnaire.

The first question related to the reaction of the grantees to the presence of grantees from other Asiatic countries at the orientation center. Six (17.6%) of the grantees expressed negative attitudes, four (14.7%) were neutral and 24 (70.6%) expressed favorable sentiments towards the presence of the other grantees from Asia. The following is typical of the comments that were made by the grantees who reacted favorably:

> This has been most interesting and valuable to me. I learned much from the students from other Asiatic countries. I am interested in South Asiatic countries and the students from that area gave me many precious hints to understand Japanese ourselves. Besides they were good company. (male grantee from Japan)

Among the comments made by those who reacted unfavorably was the following:

> Because the other foreign students except those from Japan have been rather a hinderance to my studies; they were much younger and rather frivolous and noisy. (male grantee from Korea)

The mean score for the group on this item was 3.8; for the Thai grantees, 3.6; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.5.

The second question in this area related to an estimate by the grantees of the attitude of the other grantees toward him. None of the grantees expressed the feeling that the other students were unfriendly, but 14 (41.2%) noted that other students were neither friendly nor unfriendly, while 20 (58.8%) of the grantees found other students friendly, understanding, and considerate. Five grantees from Japan and two from Thailand indicated that the other students had neither been friendly nor unfriendly toward them. The mean score for the group on this item was 3.9; for the Thai grantees, 3.8; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.6.

The third item in this area related to the willingness of the grantees to attend social functions in company with the grantees from other Asiatic countries. Five (14.7%) of the grantees expressed the feeling that they were not especially at ease in the company of the other foreign students and would prefer not to attend the social functions in company with them; 7 (20.6%) of the grantees indicated that they had no feelings on the matter; and 22 (64.7%) indicated that they were at ease and were perfectly willing to attend any of the social functions in company with the other grantees from Asia. The mean score for the entire group on this item was 3.9; for the grantees from Thailand, 4.0; and for the Japanese grantees, 3.4.

Reaction to Hawaii as a Site for Orientation of Students from Asia. The final area contained two items which dealt with the evaluation of Hawaii as a site for orientation. The first item in this area read as follows:

"Suppose you had a very close friend who is planning to come to America on the same program as you are on and they had a choice of orientation centers. Would you:

a. Recommend Hawaii as the best place for orientation?

b. Recommend Hawaii, but caution your friend about its shortcomings?

c. Tell your friend nothing, but let him decide whether to apply for Hawaii or not?

d. Tell your friend nothing about Hawaii, but suggest he go somewhere else for orientation?

e. Try to discourage your friend from coming to Hawaii by telling him the bad things about this place?

No grantee marked the extremely unfavorable category, 2 (5.9%) noted that they would tell their friends nothing about Hawaii, but suggest they go somewhere else; 1 (2.9%) indicated that he would let his friend decide without telling him anything, 19 (55.9%) would recommend Hawaii, but also note the shortcomings of the place, and 12 (35.3%) would recommend Hawaii as the best place for orientation. One of the Japanese grantees and none of the Thai grantees reported unfavorable attitudes. While the bulk of the grantees made no comment, four of the Japanese grantees who placed themselves in the neutral and favorable categories had some reservations about their ratings because they "could not participate in the orientation held at other places in the United States." The group mean score on the item was 4.2; for the Thai grantees, 4.6; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.6.

The second item in this area dealt with the general level of satisfaction of the grantees with Hawaii as a site for orientation. One grantee (2.9%) indicated that this was not a very good site for orientation of students from Asia, seven (20.6%) indicated that it was an average site with good and bad points, 17 (50.0%) indicated that this was a good place for orientation of students from Asia, and nine (26.5%) indicated that they felt this was an excellent site for orientation. Four Japanese grantees placed themselves in the neutral category, while all Thai grantees expressed favorable sentiments toward Hawaii as a site for orientation. The group mean on this item was 4.0; for the Thai grantees, 4.4; and for the grantees from Japan, 3.6.

Summary of Subsequent Reactions of Grantees to Orientation in Hawaii. In order to summarize the responses of the grantees to the questionnaire, all responses were scored on a five point scale with the most favorable and most unfavorable responses assigned arbitrary values of 5 and 1 respectively. Table 1 reports the mean score of items by the five designated areas and nationality.

TABLE 1

ITEM MEAN SCORES BY AREAS AND SELECTED NATIONALITY GROUPS

Areas	No. of Items	Japan	Thai	All Others	Total
Orientation program	5	3.0	4.2	3.8	3.7
Staff	2	3.9	4.7	4.9	4.6
Community	2	3.9	4.1	4.4	4.2
Other grantees	3	3.5	3.8	4.0	3.9
Orientation site	2	3.7	4.5	4.1	4.1
Totals	14	3.5	4.3	4.2	4.1

If we assume that the score of three indicates a neutral position, the data (Table 1) indicate that the grantees, as a group, had reacted favorably to their experiences in Hawaii. If we examine the relative positions of the Thai, Japanese and the grantees from all other countries, we find that the adjustment level of the Japanese, as a group, was significantly lower than that of any of the other groups of grantees. Internally, the orientation program itself and to a lesser extent, the presence of the grantees from other Asiatic countries were areas that contributed to the relative dissatisfaction of the Japanese grantees.

All the grantees were scored on the fourteen items above on the same arbitrary values of 1 and 5 for the most unfavorable and most favorable responses to their experiences in Hawaii. Thus, theoretically the range of scores could have been from a minimum of 14 to a maximum of 70. Table 2 presents the frequency distribution of scores on the adjustment scale by nationality. The range was from 36 to 67. Interestingly enough, the lowest and the highest scores were made by the Japanese grantees. The table (Table 2) reveals that all nationality groups clustered about the mean, with the exception of the Japanese grantees who were significantly below the mean as a group.

TABLE 2
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND MEAN SCORES ON ATTITUDE TOWARD ORIENTATION IN HAWAII BY NATIONALITY GROUPS

Nationality Groups	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	Mean	Total
Japan	2	2	1	1	1		1	49.0	8
Thailand					3	2		59.6	5
Indonesia					3	2		59.0	5
Korea				3	1	2	1	57.7	7
Laos and Malaya						2		63.0	2
Philippines				1		2	1	60.3	4
Viet Nam			1		2			55.3	3
TOTAL	2	2	2	5	10	10	3	57.4	34

The relatively unfavorable reactions of the Japanese grantees may be explainable in terms of a number of complex and interrelated factors. It must be recognized at the outset that these Japanese grantees came from a country which lost its position as a world power after World War II. Further, these students have been part of the tremendous social, political and economic upheaval that has characterized the more recent history of the country. As a consequence, the behavior of these students may have been merely a reflection of the uncertainties facing this nation in the process of change. Basically, the observational materials indicated that the Japanese grantees were reacting primarily to the conflict between the basic need for maintaining the national position and honor (the belief in the superiority of the homeland) and the acknowledged "wrong" suffered by some of the national groups represented at the orientation center at the hands of the "Japanese militarists of World War II." The situation was further complicated by their acknowledged inferiority in their command of the English language. Thus, the reactions of these grantees to the orientation program in Hawaii might be explained in terms of the conflicts created in the minds of these students which resulted in many different forms of compensatory behavior.

The Japanese group was organized with nominal leadership vested in the eldest and in the eyes of the other Japanese grantees, the person who held the highest social position in Japan. The students consulted with each other on such things as the acceptance of invitations, participation in center activities, etc., presumably with the idea that they were responsible to make the best possible impression and not "shame" the group. One of the younger Japanese grantees, early in the orientation program, took issue with the nominal leader on an academic question. The notes of the proceedings were as follows:

> Mr. N (grantee from Japan), toward the end of the discussion period began to point out haltingly in English that he thought the morning presentation was good, but that he felt first, that it had no particular interest for those not in the social sciences. He felt that there were engineers, medical men, etc., who were not interested in the discussion of the American value system. . Mr. G (grantee from Indonesia) remarked that if one were to come to America to get anything in his special field, he would first have to know a little of the people amongst whom he lives . . . Mr. Y (youngest grantee from Japan) spoke very much in the same vein as the grantee from Indonesia. He spoke of the necessity for getting a wider acquaintance with American life, no matter what field of specialization the individual was in . . . Mr. T. (grantee from Japan and nominal leader of the group) challenged Mr. Y immediately by noting first that he should speak for himself and not for the Japanese group. He then spoke in defense of Mr. N. Mr. Y retorted that he was speaking for himself and felt that even a medical practitioner would have to know something of the people before he could learn very much.

Subsequently, it was reported that the Japanese met as a group presumably with the idea of having individual members make "correct" impressions on other students and the community.

Another facet of the behavior of the Japanese group was reflected in the behavior of their nominal leader. All grantees were placed in one of three sections to facilitate English and Speech instruction. It was decided that all three sections would select one representative to the student council. Mr. T, the nominal leader of the Japanese group, was elected by his group to represent them in a council composed of a student from Indonesia and the Philippines. He failed to attend most of the meetings and delegated this responsibility to another Japanese grantee. He explained his absence from these meetings by merely stating that he had "much more important things to do." An outgrowth of the student council was a decision to organize a program for the general community. The grantee from Malaya, who was the moving spirit behind the idea, was selected chairman of the entire affair, and all grantees were subsequently assigned to various committees. The general consensus of all of the grantees was that each national group would be responsible for certain parts of the program--all were to participate and that the participation was to be limited to members of the orientation center. After this initial agreement, four days prior to the performance, the Japanese grantees requested the program chairman (a student from Indonesia) that they be allowed to include in their part of the program as participants a group of local Japanese girls. There was considerable discussion among all other grantees about the request and the general feeling expressed was that it should be confined to the grantees at the orientation center. The matter was brought up to the Director of the Orientation

Center for settlement, but the Director took the position that it was a student affair and should be settled by them. The Japanese grantees immediately began to speak in terms of the "anti-democratic" procedures being used at the center and threatened to withdraw from the whole program. The nominal leader of the Japanese group remarked:

> When we Japanese do anything, we like to put on the best. They are trying to prevent us from making the best impression. We will not participate unless they let us do what we ask.

The grantee planning committee acceded to the wishes of the Japanese grantees. During the preparation for the program, there was the tendency for the Japanese grantees to make unfavorable remarks of the efforts of the other students. Mr. N, for example, remarked:

> The other students talk so much about the program, but they are actually doing very little. We Japanese are doing most of the work. Without Mr. T around, I do not think the program could go on.

An interview with the Director of the Center revealed other facets of the Japanese reactions:

> Mr. T always came to the office and spoke for the Japanese group. He had on several occasions demanded certain services--like being driven to the downtown area for shopping--and, of course, was politely told that he should take the bus . . . He has shown no regard for the other grantees. For example, he has broken in on the conversations going on in the office with other foreign students with demands for one thing or another--each time he was politely told to wait until the conference was over with the other students. The Japanese group have been persistently late for breakfast and thus late for their first morning class. They consistently ignored the posted breakfast hour and straggled in at all times. Thus, as a group, their attendance at the first morning class has been most irregular.

The Japanese student observer reported that in several of their group meetings the topic of conversation centered around this insistence on hours. The observer reported:

> The Japanese group feels the pressure to conform. They resent especially the young counselors of Japanese descent who they say "treat them like children." They r e s e n t being awakened in the morning by the counselors. They feel in a general way that this is pressure to conform to America. They also resent the "autocratic" way in which the Director of the Center handled the suggestions made by them.

Among other reactions of the Japanese grantees were the following:

1. The feeling expressed by some grantees that the local Nisei feel superior to the Japanese in Japan because Japan lost the war. They countered with remarks that the Japanese people in Hawaii were more Japanese than the people in Tokyo.

2. The feeling expressed by some of the grantees that the foreign students, especially from Indonesia and the Philippines, though outwardly showing the hand of friendship, actually hated all of them.

3. The feeling that they were a favored group by the United States because they had the largest delegation of students.

4. The feeling that they were unfairly pressured into attending the various social events. Though all social events were optional, the group felt that they were "forced" to attend. The Director of the Center reports that the Japanese grantees failed to make their wishes known. Thus, out of common courtesy, these grantees from Japan were personally contacted by staff members before the entire group left for various social events.

5. The feeling of inferiority over their inability to speak English well.

All the above factors seem to have contributed to the relatively negative reactions of the Japanese grantees to their orientation in Hawaii. It must be pointed out, however, that taken in absolute terms, the group expressed more satisfaction than dissatisfaction with their orientation here.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The vast majority of the grantees from Asia reacted more favorably to their orientation in Hawaii.

2. Relatively speaking, the students reacted extremely favorably to Hawaii as the site for orientation, but generally reacted less favorably to the general academic program of the center and to the presence of the other grantees from Asia.

3. Relatively speaking, the Japanese grantees reacted least favorably, while the Thai grantees reached most favorably to their experiences in Hawaii.

4. Those grantees who reacted favorably to Hawaii generally conceptualized it as:

   a. the meeting place of peoples of the East and West. It thus offered them (according to testimony) relatively few problems of adjustment which made it more possible for them to concentrate on their studies. They generally pointed to Americans of oriental ancestry as a positive factor in the situation.

   b. the area in which American democracy demonstrates to the peoples of Asia what it can do for Asiatics. These grantees spoke of the relative lack of discrimination against Asiatics and the equalitarian basis of the relationships which has made possible the rise in social position of many of Asiatic origin.

   c. the land of hospitable people.

5. These grantees (who reacted favorably to Hawaii) also reacted most favorably to the orientation program, to the efforts of the staff in help-in them and to the all Asiatic composition of the grantees at the orientation center.

6. Those grantees who reacted relatively unfavorably generally:

   a. wanted initially to go to the mainland directly for their orientation.

b. felt that the lack of students from Europe was a disadvantage. They generally felt that the presence of a large oriental population in Hawaii was a disadvantage.

c. felt that the best way to orient to America was to go directly to the mainland. These grantees felt that Hawaii was not typically American.

7. These grantees (who reacted relatively unfavorably) also reacted relatively negatively to the orientation program and to the all Asiatic composition of the grantees at the orientation center. Most of these grantees had conceptualized the function of the orientation program as that of furthering their specific professional interests directly.

8. A comparative study of the reactions of (1) the Japanese and Thai grantees who received their orientation in Hawaii, (2) the Japanese and the Thai students who received their orientation in various Mainland orientation centers, and (3) the Japanese students who attended the Experimental Center [8] to their orientation experience was conducted after the students had had a semester of work at the university of their choice.[9] Among the major findings were:

a. There was no significant difference in the level of social and academic adjustment between the three orientation groups.

b. The Hawaii grantees, both Thai and Japanese, tended to evaluate their orientation experiences at a higher level after a semester of work at a Mainland university than they did during the latter part of their orientation program in Hawaii.

c. There were no significant differences statistically between the three groups in the total evaluation of the orientation experiences.

d. However, there were some interesting qualitative differences.

1. The Experimental and the Hawaii groups appeared to be emotionally more closely attached to their orientation center and staff members than the Mainland group.

2. The Mainland group generally reacted favorably to their orientation experiences because of (1) the fine treatment received; (2) the well organized program; (3) aid received in learning the customs of America as well as training in English.

3. The Experimental group emphasized the value of living with an American family in learning about America. They particularly valued the close emotional attachments developed with their host families.

[8] This program was officially known as the Experiment in International Living, a community project undertaken at Kalamazoo, Michigan.

[9] Cf., Douglas S. Yamamura, The Evaluations of the Japanese and Thai Grantees of their Orientation Experiences. U. S. State Department, International Educational Exchange Service, 1955.

4. The Hawaii group, in addition to listing the same reasons given by the Mainland group, emphasized the value of the site as: (1) the meeting place of peoples of the East and West; (2) an area in which American democracy demonstrates to people of Asia what it can do for Asiatics. The grantees spoke of the feeling of familiarity with the surroundings. They were impressed by both the relative lack of discrimination against Asiatics and the equalitarian basis of relationships which is reflected in the high social position of many people of Asiatic origin.